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THE BRENDAN PROBLEM

It might well be supposed that the last word had long since been spoken upon St. Brendan, but the subject seems to have a perennial charm. Indeed, it would seem as if discussion about the life and the works of the saint would have no end. It is a subject that interests students of Romance, Celtic and early English philology, of legends, hagiology, voyages and comparative literature. For over a thousand years even the "general reader" has enjoyed the tale of daring adventure and boundless faith of the intrepid sailor-saint and the flavor of romance and picturesque details with which it has been narrated. Is it any wonder, then, if *Brendaniana* are almost without number and are constantly being added to? In spite of all that has been written on the subject, however, many points are still unsettled, and, concerning some of them, the more that is written the more, it would seem, the subject becomes confused and embroiled. Many of the documents are obscure and all of them must be lighted up by new interpretation. The object of the present article and of the bibliography which is appended to it is merely to give a general survey of the results already achieved, and to point out some of the problems which still await solution, in the hope that some student may be induced to do what the distinguished Franciscan, Father John Colgan, had planned to do, in the seventeenth century, namely, to examine the legend afresh, and to bring together in one comprehensive volume all the sources and all the legends and associated myths bearing upon St. Brendan in all the vernaculars of Europe.

Among the saints, not only of Ireland but of the entire Church, St. Brendan occupies a place apart, and there is perhaps no saint in whose life fact and fable have been more inextricably inter-

woven. He shone as a brilliant star in the firmament of Ireland's sanctity in the sixth century, and, because of his holy life and the important activity which he exercised, he won for himself a foremost place in the history of the Irish Church. In the course of time pious legends grew around his name, and, above all, an ocean voyage was ascribed to him, as a result of which his legend became one of the most remarkable and widely spread in the Middle Ages, and, owing to this voyage, its hero became the most celebrated man of his day.

There are some who have gone so far as to deny that St. Brendan ever existed, but the majority of his biographers have regarded him as an historical personage. As nearly as can be determined, he was born in or about the year 484—though some of the old Irish annals deviate considerably from this date—and, consequently, he was a contemporary of some of the other great saints of Ireland.[1] His pedigree is variously given in several manuscripts, though in the main the different accounts agree. The version in the Book of Leinster,[2] for example, is as follows: "Brendan, the Apostle, son of Findlug, son of Elchu, son of Alta, son of Ogaman, son of Fidchuire, son of Delmna, son of Enna, son of Fualascach, son of Astoman, son of Mogaed, who is called Ciar, son of Fergus, son of Ros."

Thus his father's name was Findlug; his mother was called Cara,[3] and he had a brother, Domanigin,[4] who became Bishop of Tuaim Muscraighe. But, next to himself, the best known member of the family was his sister, Brig, who is commemorated on the 7th of January: "Quam intime diligebat, quia, etsi natura sanguinis reddebat eam caram, gratie tum illustracio faciebat cariorem"—"whom he loved dearly because, even though the connection of blood made her dear to him, the brightness of her grace rendered her even dearer."[5]

Not only was Brendan descended from the kings of Ireland, but he is even, in some texts, called "King of Ciarraige (Kerry) Luachra." In a French translation of the life of St. Fursey[6] it

[1] On Brendan's birth, see *Acta Sanctorum, Maii III*, 1738, 600, col. 1.

[2] fo. 349d.

[3] Brigitta, or Brigida, according to others.

[4] And two other brothers, according to others.

[5] PLUMMER, *Vitae SS. Hiberniae*, i, 100.

[6] *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. 44; *Romania*, xvii, 1888, p. 384.

is stated that King Findlug reigned in Munster and that Brendan was one of the other kings of Ireland. There can be no doubt that Brendan was a Kerryman, though Rodulfus Glaber,[7] who wrote about the year 1048, would make out "Bendanus," as he calls him, to have been an East Anglian, "orientalium videlicet Anglorum," probably through confusion with Brendan's nephew, Fursey, who, as is well known, was connected with East Anglia. The Annals of Boyle state that our saint was born in Connaught, and in an Anglo-Norman poem on St. Moduenna he is said to have been ". . . un clerc vaillant esteit en Escose vivant."[8] Thomas Dempster also, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, quotes authors to prove that Brendan was a Scotchman. In a life in Italian prose (*Codex Magliabechiano*, 14th century), we read: "San Brandano, figliuolo di Silocchia che fu di Scotia oltr'alle parti di Spagna," where Scotia, as usual in those days, means Ireland. Washington Irving, too, misled by this, informs us that St. Brendan was a Scotch monk. Nor can there be any doubt that the cradle of the saint was at Alltraighe Caille, on the western coast of Ireland, not far from Tralee. As far back as the time of St. Patrick his coming was foretold. In the Tripartite Life of that Saint[9] it is said that the apostle did not visit West Munster, but that, instead, he prophesied that, 120 years after his death, St. Brendan would be born into the eternal life. His future greatness was also foretold by Bec Mac Dé, the celebrated prophet. The following legend is recorded in several manuscripts:[10] "The mother of Brendan had a vision, that an ingot of gold fell into her bosom, and that her breasts were aflame (*alias*, shining like snow). Findlug related that vision to his soul-friend (as the Irish called a father confessor), Bishop Erc, who interpreted the dream to mean that a marvelous child would be born of the woman who beheld that vision. The Bishop himself had a dream of a glow of fire, and it was full of angels from heaven to the ground. On the morrow he went to Findlug's house and took the boy into his arms, and bestowed his

[7] *Collect. des mém. relatifs à l'hist. de France*, vi, p. 204; *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, v, 137 note.

[8] *Romanische Studien*, i, p. 558.

[9] P. 208; *Revue Celtique*, x, 142–143.

[10] *Book of Leinster*, 371. *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore.*

protection upon him. That was the night whereon Bec Mac Dé, the prophet, chanced to be in the house of the king of Ciarraige Luachra, and the king asked him, 'What seest thou for us tonight, O Bec?' 'I see that thy king is born between thee in the west and the sea.' 'Truly,' saith the king, 'we know of no free race between us and the sea that would have a right to reign over us.' Bec replied, 'The son that is born to Findlug this night will be thy king forever.'" [11]

On the night of Brendan's birth strange things happened in the realm of Findlug, his father. A homely passage in the Lismore Life is worth translating: "A certain wealthy man dwelt in a residence far from Findlug's house; Airde, son of Fidach, was his name. In that night of Brendan's birth thirty cows brought forth thirty calves at Airde son of Fidach's. Thereafter, early on the morrow, Airde arose and kept asking for the house in which the little child had been born, and he found Findlug's house and the babe therein, and he knelt devoutly in his presence and offered him the thirty cows with their thirty calves, and that was the first alms that Brendan received."

It will not be necessary, for our purpose, to tell in full the story of the upbringing and growth in holiness of the young Brendan, however full of interest and edifying that might be. One of the Latin lives of the saint begins in the following poetic manner: "There was a man of venerable life, Brendan by name, who, like the glowing dawn, dispelled the darkness of sin from the hearts of many, and afforded an infallible guidance to the port of salvation for those who were wandering in the sea of vice." [12] According to some of our sources, Brendan was baptized at what is now called Tubber na molt, "the wedders' well," in the townland of Tubrid, not far from Ardfert. According to the life of St. Kiaran,[13] Mobhi was the first name given to the boy by his parents,

> fair his face;
> A youth hostful, seeking, slender.
> He was a help to the men of Erin.

Thereafter he was called Braon-find, "White-shower," with

[11] Félire Oeng., May 16; Book of Leinster, 391, col. 1.
[12] PLUMMER, *Vitae SS. Hiberniae*, i, 98.
[13] Beatha Chíaráin Saighre, p. 63.

reference, the glossator opines, either to the waters of baptism, or to his fair body, or to the rain which flooded the tract of land near his birthplace; and it is by this name, modernized as Brendan, the generally accepted form, that he has been known to history and fable. The indeclinable Irish word Brenaind is probably the oldest form of the name and is composed of *brén*, "fetidus," and *find*, "capillus," or it may be borrowed from the Old Welsh *brenhin*, "a king," contracted from *bre-en-hin*.[14] The name is found in Irish documents in a variety of spellings, such as Brenann, Brenand, Brenund, Brenunn, Brenain, Brendain, Brenaind. These were probably originally only forms of a pet name, Bréndán, which in the course of time became shortened to Bréndan, Brénden, until finally it came to be pronounced as it is today, Bren'n, unless when the pronunciation is made to conform to the spelling. From Brendan come the forms found in Latin documents, of which, in the oldest period, Brendinus and Brendenus are commoner than the more frequently occurring Brendanus. In the Romance and Teutonic languages the name has taken on a great variety of forms, such as, among others, Brandanies, Brandans, Brenoin, Brandan, Brandain, Brandano, Blandin, Borodon, Morodon. The medieval attempts to explain the word from *broen-* (or *braon-*) *find*, as above, or from *broendian*, "swift rain," are all erroneous, as is also its apparent connection with *bran*, "a raven."[15] In an old Irish poem[16] our saint is invoked as "Brenuinn breo betha buadhaig," "Brendan, flame of a victorious world," where we perceive another conjecture as to the meaning of the word. In the Old French Roman de Bouduin de Sebourc, Brendan is said to have got his name from the *brandons*, or firebrands, which the devils saw him cast at them when he came near to hell:

> Et fu si près d'enfer, che est chertain et clair,
> Que de brandons le virent li deable geter,
> Et pour che le poet-on saint Brandon appeler.

He is often called "Brendan of Clúain Ferta," from the name of the cloister which he founded in County Galway, and "Bren-

[14] KUNO MEYER, *Miscellanea Hibernica*, University of Illinois Studies, ii, Nov. 16, 1916, p. 10, note 2; *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum u. d. Litt.*, Bd. xxxiii.

[15] *Revue Celtique*, xxvii, 169.

[16] *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, pp. 103–104.

denus Mocu Alti," from the name of his great-grandfather, Alta. In some versions, the latter name is debased to Mac Cualte (Cualti) and Mac Uilte.[17]

Nearly a score of saints named Brendan are mentioned in the Irish calendars,[18] one of whom, otherwise unknown, according to the *Vita Sanctae Moduennae*, was "unus de poetis Scotorum praeclarissimus nomine Brendem, vir ab infantia oculis orbus sed in arte poetica inter omnes praecipuus." But the Brendan with whom the subject of this sketch is most often both confused and associated is Brendan of Birr, who was some years older than his namesake and who got his name from Birr (Biorra), a place in King's County. The life of St. Ruadanus, for example, speaks of these two Brendans, "Brandanus filius Finloga, et Brandanus Birra." In fact, the author of the Martyrology of Donegal admits the possibility of confusing the several Brendans. The distinguished Celticist, Zimmer, even went so far as to maintain that the whole of the legend of Brendan had been developed out of a misunderstanding of a passage in the Martyrology of Tallacht, which belongs to the end of the ninth century and in which, under date of XI Kal. Apr.,[19] is mentioned the "egressio familie Brendini," and of a passage in the Voyage of Maelduin, where our hero and his crew are represented as having landed on a large island, where they espied an ancient man who told them that he was the sole survivor of the fifteen men who composed the crew of Brendan of Birr, and he even showed the newcomers the book-satchel which had belonged to his master.[20] In other words, Zimmer held that the glory that belonged to Brendan of Birr, because of some obscure sea voyage, was afterwards attributed to Brendan of Clonfert.

While still an infant, Brendan was sent to be reared by his foster mother, St. Ita, a pious woman of royal birth to whom it was customary to entrust promising boys for training, with a view to their subsequent preparation for Holy Orders. She thus became the nurse of many Irish saints. At her monastery, Killeedy (Ceall Ita, "Ita's Church"), in County Limerick,

[17] *Codex Salm.*, p. 306.
[18] *Book of Leinster*, p. 366.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 357, col. 4, l. 31.
[20] *Revue Celtique*, X, 72.

Brendan lived five years. He then spent another five years reading the psalms with Bishop Erc, who died in 512. He was afterwards educated, some say, at Clonard, under St. Finnian, whose disciple he became and from whom he must have received an excellent schooling. He is also said to have gone to school to Bishop Iarlaithe (Jarlath, of Tuam), who must have been a very old man at that time, and there is an ancient Irish poem in ten quatrains,[21] the first five of which were recited by Brendan and the remainder by the Bishop, as those two holy men saw a train of angels rising from a holy graveyard. It begins, "Ard reileac na n-aingel n-án,"

> Lofty graveyard of splendid angels
> I see before my eyes;
> Cold hell shall not be shown
> To those who are interred in its clay.

Some of the old authorities[22] attribute the following works, among others, to Brendan: *Confessio Christiana*, Lib. I, *Charta coelestis haereditatis*, Lib. I, *Revelationes de futuris temporibus*, Lib. I, *Epistulae quaedam*, and *De fortunatis Insulis*, none of which have come down to us, if indeed they ever existed. Other old prayers and poems in Irish and Latin, moral maxims, a prophecy and a vision, he is said to have written, and also a monastic Rule, according to which he regulated his life. This Rule, it was said, because of its excellence, was dictated by an angel and remains to this day among the successors of St. Benedict! Medieval historians, indeed, designate Brendan as a Benedictine, which is rather to be expected.[23] The so-called Lorica, or "Breast-Plate," of St. Brendan is preserved in at least a dozen manuscripts.[24] A rubric in some of them informs us that it was when imperiled on the sea that Brendan composed this prayer at the dictation of St. Michael:

> Beatus Brendanus monachus, quaerens insulam repromissionis per septem annos continuos orationem istam de verbo Dei per Michaelem

[21] *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, pp. 104–105; O'Donoghue, *Brendaniana*, pp. 21–23.

[22] J. A. Fabricii, *Bibl. Lat. mediae et inf. aetat.*; Harris-Ware, ii, 16; Tanner, *Bibl. Britan. Hibern.*

[23] Ussher, *Works*, VI, 484; Johann. Trithemius, *De Viris Illust. Ord. S. Benedicti*, xxxi.

[24] L. Gougaud, *Bull. d'anc. litt. et d'arch. chrét.*, 1911, 266–267; Palermo, *I Manoscritti Palatini di Firenze*, I, 234; C. Wahlund, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, xvi-xvii.

archangelum fecit quando transfretavit septem maria. Domine libera nos sicut liberasti Ionam de potestate ceti magni. Domine libera servos tuos sicut liberasti David de manu Golie gigantis.

Because of his holiness and zeal, large numbers of students and pilgrims came to listen to Brendan and many of them remained with him that they might be under his spiritual guidance. In the life of St. Senan, it is told how a ship touched at Inishcarra, having on board fifty men, Romans by birth or subject to the laws of Rome. These religious had heard of the reputation which Ireland enjoyed for learning and sanctity, and they desired to perfect themselves in scriptural knowledge and to lead lives of stricter observance. They were divided into five bands of ten persons each, and had agreed among themselves that each group should in turn assume the control of the vessel. Each band was destined to place itself under the direction of one of the great masters whose fame they had previously heard of, one of whom was St. Brendan. He became the founder of many monasteries, "And there he ladde a full strayte and holy lyfe in grete penaunce and abstynence and he governed his monkes ful vertuously." [25] St. Gildas, of Wales, whom he visited, called him "Pater Laboriosus."[26] He founded a monastery called Enach-duin, not far from the shore, in Lough Corrib, County Galway, whither he had retired for rest after his voyage or voyages in search of the Land of Promise. But his greatest establishments were at Ardfert, County Kerry, and the school of Clonfert, which he founded about the year 557 and where, including probably its scattered branches, he is said to have ruled over 3,000 students. Hence ever afterwards Clonfert has been called Clúain-ferta-Brenainn, in the native annals. In the Martyrology, the founder and legislator of the monastery is called "Brenaind colín a eltae," "Brendan with the multitude of his flocks," the reference being, it is likely, to the number of his followers. In the Annals of Tigernach,[27] under the year 557, is a quatrain in Old Irish which commemorates the foundation of the church of Clonfert. It begins:

O gabais mac úi hEllta
Brenaind . . . .

[25] Thomas Wright, *Sanct Brandan*, p. 35.
[26] *Irish Eccl. Record*, 1912, 173–174.
[27] *Chron. Scotorum*, 559; *Revue Celtique*, xvii, 142.

"Since the great-grandson of Alta, Brendan, with all his perfections, took it [Clonfert], if it be not the better for it, it is not the worse, from that time to this." Brendan was an abbot, not a bishop, though in some of the versions he is given the title of bishop.

Brendan belonged to the second of the three Orders into which the early Irish historians arranged their native saints; he was also one of the twelve apostles of Ireland and was closely associated with many of the other holy men and women of his time. Some Irish manuscripts[28] contain a parallelism of Roman and Irish saints, in which Patricius is equated with Petrus Apostolus, "Brendinus senior" (Brendan of Birr) is placed parallel with Bartolom.Apost., and "Brennain Cluana Ferta" is compared, in manners and life, to Thomas Apostolus. Brendan was also one of the company of saints who fasted and prayed so that the Ulster champion Fergus might rise from his grave and relate to them, and thus save from perdition, the great tale of "The Cualnge Cattle-Raid." We learn from a poem describing the Assembly of Druimceat, where the Treaty was passed by which Ireland granted self-determination to her colony in Alba, that among the fifty saints who accompanied Columcille were "the two Brendans."[29] On another occasion, having heard that the saints of Ireland were fasting upon King Diarmait before Tara, Brendan who was at that time in exploration of the sea also proceeded thither. They stayed for a year before Tara, fasting every other night, while the king fasted within the city. But the King, hearing of his coming, was terrified. Then Brendan, fresh from his triumphs on the ocean, summoned fifty seals which he transformed into horses for a year and a season. At the expiration of that period, they became seals again, and brought their riders with them into the sea.[30] There was the closest intimacy between St. Brendan and St. Columcille, who was several years his junior.[31] To Brendan, Columcille is said

[28] E. g., *Book of Leinster*, 370, a.

[29] O'Kelleher and Schoepperle, *Life of Columcille*, p. 340.

[30] Douglas Hyde, *Literary History of Ireland*, p. 230; Standish H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, i 67, ii 71.

[31] Nicholas O'Kearney, *The Prophecies of SS. Columbkille, etc.*, p. 21; *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philol.*, vii, 302.

to have addressed his famous prophecy, and it is in recognition of the religious establishments which our saint is said to have founded years before Columcille set foot on the Scottish coast that Brendan is honored to this day as the Apostle of the Orkneys and the Isles. In Columcille's celebrated poem in praise of Erin, beginning "Gaeth a clerigh, bind a heóin," "Wise her (Ireland's) clerics, sweet her birds," the last quatrain runs:

> In the west is sweet voiced Brendan,
> And Colum, the son of Crimthann;
> In the west is fair Baithín,
> And in the west Adamnan shall be.[32]

We also have a dialogue ascribed to these two great saints: "Columcille sang it as he left for Alba, asking the support of Brendan after him":[33]

> I Tell me, Brendan, this: How shall we make compact?
> How will it avail me here, thy friendship, thy nearness?
>
> . . . . .
>
> VI Long meseems thy going east, O pious Columcille.
> Dearest to me art thou of all that's born, O best cleric that ever came!
>
> VII Say not so, for 'tis not true; better a hundred times art thou.
> For soul hath not entered body over whom the demon hath not power,
> Save thee alone, O Brendan!

In a fragment of a life of Columcille, in the *Codex Salmanticensis*,[34] is a touching story of Brendan's friendship for Columcille. Once upon a time the latter was condemned by the Synod for having committed a slight infraction of the Rule, in succoring some poor men with food which he had taken from a miserly master. As he approached the assembly-place where the elders were in session, St. Brendan, "qui erat quasi columpna hujus consilii," came to meet Columcille and kissed him, though all the others were hostile, and, "per salubria consilia," advised him to come before the synod and excuse himself, which Columcille did. The elders chided Brendan for having kissed Columcille before they had been reconciled to him, but Brendan answered that they would not have blamed him if they had seen

[32] O'Kelleher and Schoepperle, *Life of Columcille*, p. 282.
[33] *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, vii, 302.
[34] Pp. 221–224.

what he had seen, even the fiery column from heaven that preceded Columcille, and angels of God flying around him in the field. Then calling Columcille to one side, he prophesied his exile to a foreign land. Both Adamnan and Cuimine the Fair relate that on one occasion Brendan accompanied Comgall of Bangor, Cainnech (Kenneth) of Aghaboe, and Cormac ua Liathain of Durrow to visit Columcille, who was then staying in Imba (supposed to be Oronsay, Scotland), and Columcille at their request celebrated Mass before them on the Sunday. Brendan afterwards told his companions that during part of the ceremony Columcille had seemed to him to be standing at the bottom of a pillar of fire streaming upward.[35] Brendan was also associated with Saints Bairre and Cainnech in other adventures. In the life of St. Ciaran of Clonmacnois[36] it is stated that the two Saints Ciaran, he of Clonmacnois and he of Saigir, and the two Saints Brendan, the one of Clonfert and the other of Birr, and Columcille and many others attended the school conducted by the master, Finnian.[37] In the Latin life of Ciaran of Saigir, we read how the "duo sancti Kyarani et duo sancti Brendani societatem et fraternitatem inter ipsos et inter habitatores locorum suorum semper firmauerunt," "the two Saints Ciaran and the two Saints Brendan established intercourse and fraternity between themselves and between the inmates of their foundations." In the Irish life of the same saint,[38] it is said that on one occasion the two Brendans happened to be visiting Ciaran, when the other Ciaran, of Clonmacnois, arrived. Again, Brendan of Birr was once in danger of drowning in the River Brosna, near Birr, because of a sudden burst of the sea, when Brendan of Clonfert pulled him out of the water and saved him from being drowned.[39] The Calendar of Oengus, under date of May 16, contains a quatrain in Irish, of which the following is a translation:

> The unity of Cainnech and Bairre,
> And of Brendan, both one and other,
> Whoever outrages any one of them,
> The miracles of the three will avenge him.

[35] ADAMNAN, *Columba*, iii, 17.
[36] PLUMMER, *Vitae SS. Hib.*, i, 205.
[37] PLUMMER, *ibid.*, i, 230.
[38] MULCAHY, p. 63.
[39] Félire Oengusso.

Very early the legends which grew around the name of St. Brendan begin to make their appearance. One of the most poetic is the story of Brendan's hermitage, or of St. Brendan, the Young Harper and the bird-like Angel, which is found in several manuscripts.[40] One Easter-day, seven years before his death, Brendan had said Mass, preached and made offering. It was mid-day and the monks went to their refectory; a student was there with his harp and played music for them. And he expressed the desire to play some strains for Brendan, but the monks said that Brendan would not let him, "for," said they, "it is now seven years since Brendan smiled or heard a melody of the music of the world." Nevertheless the student tunes his harp and goes to Brendan. "Open," saith the student. "Who is there?" saith Brendan. "A student come to play the harp for thee." "Play outside," saith Brendan. But the student asked to be permitted to play in the church for a while. Brendan opened the door and the student held the harp behind his back. When Brendan saw the harp he put into his ears two wax balls which lay on his book with a thread between them. At the entreaty of the student, Brendan took the wax out of his ears. The student played and Brendan gave him his blessing, and put the wax balls into his ears. "'Why wilt thou not listen to the music? Is it because it seems to thee bad?" "Not for that," Brendan replied; and he told how once, just seven years before, he was in the church and a great longing seized him for the Lord, and trembling and fear possessed him. And as he was there a bird as bright as the sun came in by the window and sat upon the altar. It was Michael, the Angel, in the form of a bird, come to make harmony for him from the Lord. And for hours Brendan listened, and ever afterwards no melody of the world's music seemed sweeter to him. For that reason he had the balls of wax to put into his ears whenever he heard a melody. "Take my blessing," said Brendan to the student, "and thou shalt have heaven's music for thy playing." The same story is told in the life of St. Ciaran of Saigir, but according to this version the event took place fourteen years before the death of St. Brendan, and the bird, which was Michael, came in at the open window of the church

[40] *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. xiii–xv; RAWLINSON, B. 512; Martyrology of Donegal.

at Clonfert and perched on the altar. It placed its bill behind the feathers of its wing and sweeter than the music of the world was the music which it made. For four and twenty hours Brendan was listening to it, and from that hour until his death he would not lend ear to any worldly music whatever, except one Easter-day when he permitted a clerical student to play his harp for him.

A tale which explains the origin of the family name Dobarchu and, at the same time, illustrates a common trait in the lives of Celtic saints, namely, their friendliness with animals, is found in several manuscripts.[41] St. Brendan had a neighbor called Dobarchu, "the Otter," who owned a meadow of grass that abutted on Loch Lir. Now it happened that Brendan's cattle trespassed on the meadow and Dobarchu killed them. Then said Brendan, "If it please God, may He make an otter of him!" Sometime thereafter Dobarchu with his wife and son came by the meadow and he saw a trout which he angled for and caught. He built a fire of ferns, broiled his trout and ate it. He then proceeded to the loch to take a drink of water, but, as a result of Brendan's curse, he fell in and was turned to an otter. When his son and wife came to the loch, the son began to fish for a trout, but an otter appeared and forbade him. From that time on, his descendents, the Úi Dobarchon, of Thomond, do not touch salmon. In a note in the Calendar of Oengus, under April 7, there is reference to a place which, the glossator suggests, got its name "from the flying of the 'prechain' (the pet raven or scall crow) that Brendan once sent out before him from the north from Clúain Ferta Brenainn." In the same calendar, under January 2, is a curious story of the way in which Brendan tested the virtue and superhuman asceticism of a comrade named Scothíne, and discovered, to his surprise, that Scothíne was better than he was. In the life of St. Ciaran of Saigir is a story which illustrates Brendan's abstemiousness. Ciaran once pretended to be ill in order to compel St. Brendan to accept a cow as a gift.[42] On another occasion, while sailing on the River Berba, Brendan lost a beaker filled with wine, and, in a song in Irish, he called upon St. Moduenna and promised her the beaker if

[41] *Book of Lismore;* Mélusine, iv, 298–299.

[42] CAPGRAVE, *Nova Legenda Ang.*, ed. Horstmann.

she sent it to him. At once the beaker appeared upon the surface of the water and Brendan afterwards sent it to Moduenna.[43] According to the Anglo-Norman verse version of her life, however, it was not on the River Berba that Brendan was sailing, but on the ocean.[44] A somewhat similar story is told in the life of St. Cainnech of Aghaboe, how once St. Brendan's artisan was making a golden chalice, and he ran short of gold. Brendan had recourse to St. Cainnech ("who frequently goes to Britain") who miraculously, though most indelicately, provided the gold.[45] It is not certain if our Brendan is meant by the "Sanctus Brendanus Senior" who, in a single day, wrought seven remarkable miracles in the name of Christ, and who, on a hill called Munchile, at a place where are the "Cruces Brendani," prophesied the virtues of St. Bairre of Cork.

Several curious stories are told of the relations of our saint and his pupil, St. Finan, afterwards abbot of Cenn Etigh, whose birth Brendan had prophesied to his parents, even that their son would be great in the sight of God.[46] Then did the boy come and study Brendan's Rule with the master. One day Finan brought from the forest wood to make a staff, without having previously received the permission of the abbot. When Brendan saw it, he threw it into the fire. But the fire not only did not consume the staff, but it shaped it just as Finan wanted it. Another day, his bread fell into the fire, and Brendan said, "Finan, the fire is burning your bread." But Finan was busy at the time and it was only after some delay that he put his hand into the middle of the fire, and the fire neither burned his hand nor the bread.[47] Brendan is also mentioned in connection with the celebrated St. Enda, Abbot of the Aran Isles, which Giraldus Cambrensis describes as "insula quaedam in occidentali Conactiae salo posita, cui nomen Aren; a S. Brendano, ut aiunt, consecrata."[48] Accompanied by fourteen brothers, Brendan sailed westward to St. Enda's island, where he spent three days and three nights, and then, with the blessing of Enda and of Enda's

[43] *Acta Sanctorum*, 6 Jun. ii, 308.
[44] Boehmer, *Romanische Studien*, i, 558.
[45] Plummer, *Vitae SS. Hib.*, i, 168; *Codex Salam.*
[46] *Codex Salam.*, 306–307.
[47] Plummer, *l. c.*, ii, 87–88.
[48] *Topog. Hib., Dist.* 2.

monks, he returned to the mainland to visit his own people.[49] But the most celebrated of Brendan's disciples was his grand-nephew, St. Fursey, who, like the master, became the hero of some remarkable and more or less mythical adventures. Brendan had raised a hospice on the island of Inchiquin, "the Island of the O'Quin," in Lough Corrib, for the reception of wayfarers and pilgrims, and it was while his nephew Fintan, son of the king of Munster, and his wife Gelges were visiting him on the island that Fursey was born. Brendan baptized the child and educated him in the monastery under his direction. A stone fort in the townland of Ard Fintan is said to be still shown as the guest chamber in which Fintan and Gelges lived when they visited St. Brendan on Lough Corrib.[50]

Brendan's name is mentioned in connection with the ancient Irish hymn, "Brigit bé bithmaith," "Brigit ever-good woman," of which he is said to have been the author, though the hymn is most commonly ascribed to St. Ultan.[51] The adventure referred to therein is also narrated in a note in the Franciscan (Dublin) copy of St. Broccán's hymn beginning "Ní car Brigit," "Brigit loved not,"[52] and a fragment of it is found also in the Rennes manuscript, 598 anc. 138 irlandais, f° 74, col. b, l. 5.[53] Since the Rennes fragment has not been printed before, the Irish text is given here as well as the translation, though it differs mainly only in spelling from the hitherto published versions. The *italics* represent the filling up of contractions:

Seacht mbli*adna* bói Brena*inn* for muir ic i*arrair* tíre t*arrngere* 7 robói beist i*na* lenmhai*n* f*r*isin résin i *n*díaidh *in* curoich. Fe*cht* an*n* táinic péist oile chuici día mh*arbad* coro ataigh i*n* ní Brenainn 7 f*r*ía naepu Eir*enn* risi*n* péist aile 7 ní rosanacht nóco roataigh inní Brígit; co nérb*airt* Brena*inn* na bíadh ní badh siriu f*or* muir nóco fesad cidh *ara* nd*ernad* ar Brí*gi*t an f*ir*tsa seach c*ách*. Taineic i*arum* Brena*inn* do shai*gid* Brighti 7 ro foill-si*ged* do Brígit in ní sin. Is an*n* sin dobói Bri*gi*t ac ing*aire* cháor*ech* i Cuirr*iuch* Liphe co táinic i comdháil Bre*nainn* co Domn*ach* mór fría Chilld*ara* anías coro benn*achsat* inuicem. Ec lec Brénnainn lot*ar* i*arum* isi*n* te*ch*. Fócértt Brigit a cochull fliuch f*or* an gai ngreine 7 lenaidh f*air*.

[49] Ussher, *Works*, vi, 533.

[50] *Irish Eccles. Record*, 1912, pp. 173–174.

[51] *Lismore Lives*, pp. 332–334, 353; *Liber Hymnorum*, i, 108–109, ii, 38; *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ii, 335.

[52] *Liber Hymnorum*, i, 118, ii, 196.

[53] *Revue Celtique*, xv, 88.

Dixit Brenainn fría ghilla a cochull do cur fair cotorcair do ngai fo dí. Focertt Brenainn fein in tres fecht la feirg 7 stetted fair. Rofhíarfaig Brigit día coic cía métt do bíudh ro bói ocu tunc. Dixit non est hoen-ocht-madh grain eórna. Rucad don mhuilenn Rátha Cáthair fri Cilldara aníar fo trí 7 for femdhes a bleith and.

Seven[54] years was Brendan at sea seeking the Land of Promise, and at that time a monster was following him in the wake of the boat. Once another monster came up to it to slay it, and it besought Brendan and all the other saints of Ireland against the other monster, but that protected it not until it besought Brigit. So that Brendan declared that he would not remain any longer at sea until he learned why this miracle was wrought for Brigit and not for others. Then did Brendan set out on a journey to Brigit, and that was revealed to her. At that time she was herding sheep in the Currach of the Liffey, and she went to meet Brendan to Domnach Mór to the west of Kildare, and each of them greeted the other.

At "Brendan's Stone" they then went into the house. Brigit flung her wet cloak on the sunbeam but it fell off it twice; the third time Brendan himself flung it angrily, and it remained on it.

Brigit inquired of her cook how much food she had. She replied that she had only one-eighth of barley grain. That was taken to the mill at Rath Cathair west of Kildare thrice,[55] and they refused to grind it there.

On two occasions at least, in after life, Brendan is represented as holding holy converse with his old nurse, St. Ita.[56] When her end approached, the good woman, grieving for the absence of Brendan, exclaimed: "If I could but see with my eyes the holy Brendan, my beloved foster child, and hear with my ears his voice, and receive from his hands the Body of my Lord Jesus Christ this very night of the nativity of my Lord!" And her prayer was answered.[57]

One of Brendan's many strange undertakings was his visit to hell, to bring back the soul of his mother.[58] There is even a purgatory named after him. Belief in its existence is expressed, for example, in the following tetrastich by Alexander Necham:

Asserit esse Locum solennis Fama dicatum
Brendano, quo lux lucida saepe micat
Purgandas animas, datur hic transire per ignes,
Ut dignae facie judicis esse queant,

[54] "Four" is the reading of the other MSS.; cf. ZIMMER, *Zeit. für deutsches Alt. u. d. Litt.*, xxxiii, 131, 301.

[55] "Twice," in the other MSS.

[56] PLUMMER, *l. c.*, ii, 121.

[57] *Ibid.*, i, 145.

[58] *Revue Celtique*, xxxi, 309–311.

which has been quaintly Englished as follows:

> To Brandan sacred, as Tradition says,
> There stands a Place, where trembling Lightning plays;
> Hence to be purg'd, Souls pass the cleansing Flame,
> To fit them for the Test of Judge supreme.[59]

Brendan is commemorated in countless other ancient documents. In the Martyrology of Tallaght,[60] May 16, Marianus O'Gorman, writes of "Brendan, without a particle of pride," and Selbhach, in his metrical list of the Saints of Inisfail, praises:

> Brendan, son of fair Findlug,
> And Mochuda, son of Findall,
> A holy pair with penitential countenances,
> Of the race of Ciar, son of Fergus.

But naturally most of the legends connected with Brendan's name relate to his wonderful voyage, or to events the scene of which is laid near by the sea. Even from the beginning he seems to have acquired a reputation for his roaming propensity, and there are innumerable references to it in Irish hagiology. In the Latin "Legenda," it is said of him, "voluit scrutari partes et fines oceani," and, in the life of St. Carthage of Lismore, the birth of that saint was prophesied by an angel to St. Brendan, "qui inuenit terram repromissionis sanctorum."[61] In the life of Laisren, Brendan is described as "peregre proficiscens," "Brendan that journeyeth far from home."[62] Likewise, in the life of St. Flannanus, reference is made to the "mira que in insulis maris occeani viderat (sc. Brendanus) atque narraverat."[63] St. Brendan made a pact of fraternity with St. Albanus, and when the mariner returned from his seven years' pilgrimage on the sea, Albanus visited him. The two saints spent several days together in friendly converse[64] and Brendan related all the wonderful things he had seen on the ocean. One day St. Brendan's ship sank at the mouth of the Shannon, near Limerick, and the son of the king of Britain, who was on the prow of the

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[59] HARRIS-WARE, ii, 15–16.
[60] MORAN, *Acta S. Brendani*, p. 7.
[61] PLUMMER, *l. c.*, i, 170; *Codex Salman.*
[62] *Ibid.*, ii, 139.
[63] *Codex Salman.*, 649–650.
[64] *Ibid.*, 531–534; PLUMMER, *l. c.*, I, 25, 29.

ship, was drowned. Then did St. Brendan send some of his disciples for St. Ruadanus, who came at their call, and, by his prayers, raised the ship; the son of the king was found asleep in the ship with Ruadanus' hood around his head so as to not feel the water.[65] In the life from which this episode is taken, we learn that the holy abbot Brendan had a cell not far from the monastery of Ruadanus, in a place called "Tulach Brenaind," "Brendan's mound," and the bell of each was heard in the cell of the other. After some time Brendan said, "Ruadanus and I cannot live in the same place," and he departed and came to Connaught. In the life of St. David[66] is an extraordinary exploit attributed to Brendan. St. Bairre, on his way home from venerating the relics of SS. Peter and Paul, at Rome, visited the holy man, David, and, since there was no favoring wind to drive his ship, he asked his host to lend him the horse on which he was accustomed to ride when performing his ecclesiastical duties. Having received David's blessing, Bairre mounted the horse and entered the sea, presumably between what are now St. David's Head, in Wales, and Cork, in Ireland. After he had proceeded a considerable distance, he met St. Brendan, "super marinum cetum miram ducebat vitam," "leading a wonderful life on the back of a sea animal." St. Brendan seeing the man riding on the sea, was astonished, and exclaimed, "The Lord is wonderful in his saints!" When the man on horseback came near, the two saints saluted each other, and Bairre explained how he came to be making use of a horse as a ship. When they had conversed for some time, Brendan said, "Go in peace, I will come to see David," and the two holy men parted company. This Bairre is undoubtedly St. Finnbarr, Patron of Cork, and it is not impossible that the sea tale in his case was suggested by the words which compose his name, *find* meaning 'white' and *barr* meaning 'head,' which were understood to refer to the white-caps of the sea. The same idea is expressed by reversing the order of the words, giving *barr-find*, of which the name Barintus, which is found in Latin documents and was originally the name of a sea-god, may be simply a latinization. Consequently when Geoffrey of Monmouth represents Barintus

[65] *Vita Sti. Ruadani, Codex Salm.;* PLUMMER, *o. c.*, ii, 244.

[66] *Rees, Cambro-Brit. Saints*, pp. 435–436.

as a pilot steering the ship in which the wounded Arthur and Taliessin are conveyed to the Fortunate Isles, he was probably only borrowing the name from some Celtic legends which he had read connected with the voyage of Saint Brendan. According to some sources, this Barintus, or another of the same name, of whom we shall have occasion to speak later, was a relative of Brendan.[67]

Though a Kerryman, the long low island of Inchiquin in Lough Corrib, County Galway, seems to have been Brendan's favorite place of abode when he was not on the ocean. Many legends are told of his sojourn in that place. One is of a monk who, during a quarrel between the brothers, was struck on the head and died of the wound. When Brendan saw the monk lying lifeless on the ground, he called him, and the dead man arose and approached, carrying the iron weapon with which he had been slain still sticking in his head. The saint asked him whether he desired to remain alive or to pass away to heaven, and he at once chose the latter. The scene of this miracle is still called, in Irish, "Leaba an tuillchinn," or, in Latin, "lectus perforati capitis."

At Annadown (Enach-duin) within sight of Inchiquin was the nunnery or Brig, Brendan's sister, of which she, who also became a saint, was abbess, and, with her, Brendan breathed his last. Early one morning St. Columcille, though far away in Iona, saw the soul of Brendan conveyed to heaven by a chorus of angels, and he summoned his servant Diormicius and said, "Hodie enim natalis est sancti Brendani dies,"[68] and gave orders to have a solemn Mass celebrated in his honor: "As Christ told His disciples of the sleep of Lazarus, so did St. Columcille foretell to his disciples the death of the holy Brendan."[69] Brendan's death is also recorded in these words in the Annals of the Four Masters: "Ascensio Brenaind in curru suo in aerem," and by the annalist Tigernach as follows: "Quies Brendain abbatis Cluainferta, die XVI Maii, aetatis sui 94." In Félire Oengusso (*The Martyrology of Oengus*), under May 16, is chronicled: "Togairm

[67] *Revue Celtique*, xxii, 339; *Annales de Bretagne*, xv, 534.

[68] MORAN, *Acta Sti. Brendani*, 140; *Codex Salman.*, 851; *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii III, 596.

[69] PLUMMER, *l. c.*, i, 151.

Brénainn Chluana," "The calling of Brendan of Cluain into the everlasting, victorious Kingdom." According to others, Brendan was in his ninety-sixth year when the end came—the sea foam he had breathed on his voyages may help to explain his extreme old age. He is commemorated in the Calendar on May 16, and the year of his death is generally given as 576, though the authorities differ on this point. The Church has also consecrated the date of his "Egressio," or first voyage, which was formerly celebrated on March 22 in Kerry. An Irish entry in a manuscript at Vienna,[70] in the handwriting of his celebrated countryman, Marianus Scottus, "Marianus the Irishman," who was Abbot of Ratisbon, contains a tender testimony that in his day (A. D. 1079) the memory of Brendan was not forgotten by Irish missionaries and scholars residing on the continent: "Feil Brenain innocht for Dardain. A impede fordia indilgud do Muiredach tróg;" "the feast of Brendan, this Thursday night (May 16, 1079). His intercession before God for forgiveness for poor Muiredach (Marianus)."

When Brendan felt that the end was at hand, he went to visit his sister. Among other things he taught her concerning the place of her resurrection. "Not here," saith he to her, "shalt thou rise again, but in thine own land, even in Kerry. Therefore, go thou thither, for that people will gain the mercy of God by thy means. This is a place of men, not of women. Now is God calling me unto Himself out of the prison home of the body." When she heard that, she was grievously saddened at his premonition of death and said, "Beloved father we shall all die at thy death. For which of us can live when thou art alive and absent, much less when thou art dead?" And Brendan saith, "On the third day hence, I shall go the way of my fathers." Now that day was the Lord's Day. Thereon, having made the sacrifice at the altar, he saith to them that stood by, "In your prayers, commend my going forth." And Brig speaketh and saith, "Father, what fearest thou?" "I fear," said he, "I shall journey alone, that the way should be dark; I fear the unknown region, the presence of the King, the sentence of the Judge." After these things, he commanded the brethren to carry his body to the monastery of Clonfert secretly, lest, if they did it

[70] *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vii, 1857–1861, p. 300.

openly, it should be kept by them among whom they should pass. Then when he had kissed them all, one by one, he saith unto holy Briga, "Salute my friends on my behalf, and say unto them to beware of evil speaking even when it is true, how much the more when it is false." When he had so spoken and foretold how some things would be in time to come, he passed into everlasting rest in the ninety-sixth year of his age. This beautiful and touching trait is found only in one manuscript.[71] The scribes of the other copies omitted it perhaps because they considered that such human shrinking was unworthy of a saint. Indeed, the writer of the Codex Salmanticensis has added in the margin alongside this passage, "nota de timore."

The intense popularity enjoyed by the Brendan legend is shown by the wide range of places and persons stamped more or less consciously with, or influenced by, the name of its hero, such an English, Brandon, Brenton; German, Branden; Italian, Brandano, Brentano; Portuguese, Brandão. Our saint has many dedications in Scotland and has left his memory on the local nomenclature of some of the Western Islands.[72] In accordance with the legends which made him visit the Orkneys, the Hebrides and the Shetlands, he is sometimes commemorated as the "Apostle of the Scottish Isles," "Sanctus Brandanus Abbas Apostolus Orcadum et Scoticarum insularum." In the year 514, he is said to have founded a monastery "in regione Heth," which has been identified with the island Tyree (Lat. Terra Heth), and a cloister, Ailech, but whether that place was in Scotland (Perthshire), or in Brittany, or an island, is uncertain. St. Brandan's Hill overlooks the port of Bristol. On the island of Mull is Cuil-Bhrannain, "Brendan's Retreat," which is pointed out to this day, and the sound which separates Arran from Kintyre bears the name of Kilbrannan. There is also a church in the Island of Seil, off the coast of Lorn, dedicated to him. The island of Bute (found as Bót, in Hákonar Saga) is said to take its name from a bothy or cell which the saint erected on it. In Perthshire is "St. Brandon's Haven," and many churches in Mull, St. Kilda and other parts of Scotland still preserve his name.[73]

[71] PLUMMER, *l. c.*, i, 150 note; *Codex Salman.*, pp. 771–772.

[72] FORBES, *Calendars*, 233, 286–287.

[73] O'HANLON, pp. 466–477.

According to the Irish sources, Brendan undertook a journey to, and spent some time in, Britain, as a penance after his seven years' voyage; and the lives[74] of his disciple Machutus, or Malo, say that, before the famous quest, he was founder and abbot of the celebrated monastery of Llancarvan, in Glamorganshire, and that it was from there that the voyage started. He has probably also left recollections of himself in the Isle of Man, and in the Church of St. Piran (which may be the Irish Ciaran), at Perranzabuloe, in Cornwall, is kept, among other treasures, a tooth of Saint Brendan. Many of the allusions in the Latin lives of Brendan to Britannia have been understood as referring, not to Britain, but, to Brittany, whither he is supposed to have gone from Wales or Cornwall, and where he founded an abbey not far from the beautiful city now called after the name of his pupil, St. Malo. Just at the entrance to the Bay of St. Malo is the fortified island Césembre (September),[75] which contains the grotto of St. Brendan. Numerous other places in Brittany keep his memory alive, though it does not necessarily mean that we must assume a visit of Brendan wherever we find a dedication or a festival to him. In the Gulf of Morbihan is l'Ile aux Moines, worthy of having been visited by St. Brendan and his companions. South of St. Brieuc, in the Côtes-du-Nord, is a village called by his name, and at least half a dozen other communities have him as their patron, such as Kerlouan, Lanvellec (in the canton of Pontrieux), Locbrévalaire, St. Broladre, St. Brandan, Trégrom, and Broladre, in Normandy. According to the popular Breton almanacs, St. Brendan is invoked for the cure of sores and ulcers. His legend has even penetrated into the Orient. In a very old and defective Irish poem going back to the early part of the tenth century, found written on the lower margin of two pages of the Book of Leinster,[76] and which may be but a fragment of a lost life of Brendan, an unknown person addresses a welcome to the saint and celebrates him for having traveled to the far-off land of Ceylon, and, as a "pilgrim of Ireland," to the cold waters of the Jordan, to Mount Zion, the cities of Greece, to Rome and

[74] *Deux Vies inéd.*, pp. 37, 46, 132, 139.

[75] *Prima Vita Sti. Mach.*

[76] *Book of Leinster*, pp. 366, 369; *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. preuss. Akad.*, 9 Mai 1912, pp. 436–443; *Zeitschrift für celtische Philol.*, ix, 187.

Tours. The poem begins: "Mochen, mochen, a Brénaind, a breó rochloss co Lletha," "Welcome, welcome, O Brendan, flame whose praise was heard to Gaul. Welcome, Lord of Cluain, to whom the victories of the world do service," and concludes with the following lines:

Áillcge deit indá midól
Ocus fáilte fri fledól
Tú it luing ó ailén d' aileón
Rom chrideón is mochenón.

Dearer to thee than quaffing mead and good cheer at banquet, is it to sail in thy boat from island to island. Welcome, my heart.

As might be expected, the places most closely associated with Brendan's name are in southwest Munster, and more particularly in his native County Kerry, of which he is the patron. Such places are very numerous. On Valentia Island is a well-known cliff called Colbha, which means literally "a bed post," with a natural fissure along its face, where, so tradition says, St. Brendan landed after one of his voyages. Brandon's Bay, with its oval beach, is some 5 miles west of Castlegregory. A few miles north of Dingle and near the wind-blown coast is the cloud-capped Mount Brandan, Cnoc Bhréantháin, as the old people call it, the second highest mountain in Ireland. From this lofty eminence the sight is truly grand. Almost at the foot of the mountain the Atlantic dashes itself into foam and spray on the tall precipitous headlands. From that point the saint is said to have scanned the broad expanse of the "Mare Brendanicum," as that ocean has since his day been called, toward the setting sun and the longed for Land of Promise. Not far away are Brandon Peak, one of the highest mountains in County Kerry, with Brendon's Oratory and Brendon's Well on its summit, Brandon Head, and, on one of the Blasquets, the westernmost of all Irish islands, is the Cloghan, where the sailor-saint is believed to have lived for some time. For a long time the inhabitants regarded the western slopes of Brandon Mountain so sacred as not to allow any animal to be killed there, except fish in certain rivulets, which was given to the poor and had to be eaten at once. The cattle, wild deer and boars which lived there were unmolested and the birds and hares were nearly tame. The people of the Dingle peninsula

imagine some religious connection between Kilmalchedar, near which is Fotharach Brandain, "the Ruins of Brendan's House," mentioned in the saga of Cellachan of Cashel, and Brandon Mountain. Near Cahirciveen are several beehive-shaped houses and an old church, and, on the island of Innistooskert, in the foaming Atlantic beyond Mayo, is a stone cell believed to have been built by St. Brendan. Proceeding north we find on Innishglora, St. Brendan's Oratory, and it is said that sailors from Mayo when sailing by Innishglora used to lower their sails in honor of St. Brendan. Near the church and monastery of Ardfert is a clear spring of water called Brandon Well, which is reputed to be holy, and there is also a townland of the same name in the parish of Ardfert.

The earliest extant account of the life and adventures of Brendan dates from at least 500 years after the events are said to have taken place. The first mention of a sea voyage made by our saint is found in the two instances quoted above in connection with the life of St. Brigit, where he is spoken of as "navigans mare" and "quaerens terram repromissionis," and in the entry in the ninth century Martyrology of Tallaght, March 22, "egressio familiae Brendani." Leaving aside the belief which was current in the twelfth century, that Brendan himself left behind a written account of his adventures, and a Latin life of the saint which Washington Irving[77] and others, on what authority we do now know, assert once existed in the archives of the Cathedral in the Grand Canary, and such scattered notions of a legendary quality as are found in the lives of saints already referred to, our main sources of information on the subject are the following: First, the incomplete Irish *Betha Brendain*, "Life of Brendan," which is found in the Book of Lismore, a fifteenth century manuscript.[78] A fragment of this *Betha*, closely resembling the Lismore text, is found in a nineteen century manuscript containing the life of St. Finan.[79] The *Betha Brenainn* is not an original work but essentially a Middle Irish production which could not have arisen before the end of the eleventh or the

[77] *Life of Columbus*, Appendix.

[78] Text and translation by Whitley Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore;* text, pp. 99–116; translation, pp. 247–261; notes, pp. 349–354.

[79] *Zeitschrift für celtische Philol.*, ii, 564–565.

beginning of the twelfth century. Moreover, the fact that it is not mentioned among the *Immramha*, or "Sea-Voyages," in the old catalogues of Irish literature, is significant. Its prototype may be lost; at all events, though it contains material not found elsewhere, it shows the influence of other versions and can by no means be regarded as the source of the later texts. There are also Irish versions in two manuscripts at Brussels, in the British Museum and in the *Liber Flavus Fergusorum*, in the Royal Irish Academy.[80] Our second main source of information is the Latin "Vita Brendani," which is preserved in several manuscripts, and the third is the Latin *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, of which there are numerous versions[81] and which would appear to have been known on the continent before they were known in Ireland. The oldest form of the *Navigatio* thus far discovered is found in a British Museum manuscript[82] which dates from the tenth century, but which is clearly a copy of a yet earlier manuscript. It has been alleged that a version also exists in a ninth century manuscript in the Vatican Library, but this statement has not been proved. The unknown author of the *Navigatio* composed his compilation out of whatever material he had at hand, and, to fill up the events of the seven years' voyage already ascribed to Brendan, he drew chiefly from the Voyage of Maelduin and other Irish sea voyages, and, for the description of heaven and hell, he had recourse to such Irish tales as the Vision of Adamnan and the Tidings of Doomsday. These three main versions differ much from one another. The Latin recension in John Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Anglie* (London, 1516) was compiled from the *Acta Brendani*.

Some idea of the marvelous popularity and spread of the Brendan story may be got by considering the number of extant manuscripts which contain it, and the number of translations, transformations and imitations which have been made of it. It was probably Irish monks who first carried it to the continent, where it enjoyed even greater vogue than at home and where it

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[80] Egerton, 1781. For these MSS., see O'Curry, *On the Manuscript Materials*, p. 533.

[81] *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, ix, 75 ff.; *Romanische Forschungen*, vii, 1893, 1–48.

[82] Additional, 36736.

was believed and read and listened to with feverish admiration and afforded entertainment for centuries. It would seem as if every great monastic and public library of medieval Europe possessed it in some form or other, and it has been treated in almost every modern European language. The Spanish and Portuguese versions mentioned by Jubinal[83] (the statement has been repeated by Douhet[84] and others) have not been discovered, unless possibly in sea tales in which the name of the hero is St. Amaro. The most famous of the redactions in a popular language of the Middle Ages is the Anglo-Norman poem which was composed by a certain Donz Beneeiz, about the year 1121 for, and dedicated to, Adelaide of Louvain, shortly after her marriage as second wife of Henry I, "Beauclerc," of England. The work is clearly a translation, but of what is uncertain, unless it be of some version of the Latin *Navigatio*. It is the second oldest Norman poem written on English soil. The opening lines in which the poet, who was perhaps a bishop, expresses the hope that Lady Aelis will bless England with religion, justice and peace, are as follows:

Donna Aaliz la reine,
Par qui valdrat lei divine,
Par qui creistrat lei de terre,
E remandrat tante guerre
Por les armes Henri lu rei
E par le cunseil qui ert en tei,
Salvet tei mil e mil feiz
Li apostoiles danz Benediz
Que comandas ço ad enpris,
Secund sun sens entremis,
En letre mis e en romanz,
E si cum fud li teons cumanz,
De Saint Brendan, le bon abeth;
Mais tu l' defent ne seit gabeth.

There are many other French versions in verse and prose. Next to the Anglo-Norman poem in order of age is the Flemish prose version, *De Saint Brandainne le moin*, dating from the end of the twelfth century, and to about the same period belongs a French poem entitled *De Saint Brandans qui erre vii ans par*

[83] Page x.
[84] Pages 278–279.

mer et les merveilles qu'il trouve. The version in an Arsenal MS. begins:

> Seignor, oiés que jo dirai,
> D'un saint home vos conterai:
> D'Yrlande estoit, Brandans ot non,
> Molt ert de grant religion.

There is a short version dating from the fifteenth century in Old Provençal, which is an abridgment from a Latin "Legenda in Festo Sti Brendani." According to it our saint, who is called "Sant Branda, lo sant baro," was possessed of a desire "to see the relics of the saints." It contains some curious mistakes. For instance, the name Ahenda is given to an island instead of to the holy man, Aende, who dwelt in it. Its only reference to the whale-island is a misunderstanding of the Latin "in dorso bellue," which it renders "en la ciutat de Velluer," thus making it the name of a city. Another interesting Romance group consists of four Italian texts dating from the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries, of which one is in old Venetian, and another in Tuscan, prose.[85] In several respects the Venetian version differs from the Latin *Navigatio*, its description of hell being especially graphic, for example, where the demons call out the various torments which await their victims: "E oldiua bosie che sonaua dir: al fuogo, al fuogo; altri diseva; al' aqua, al' aqua; altri diseva: liga, liga; altri diseva: muora, muora, tuti di nostri nemisi che se serui de dio! . . . E oldiua bosie che diseua: rosti, rosty, meti in fuogo, baty, baty, taia, taia, siega, siega, strenzi, strenzi." The influence of the Brendan story is seen more or less directly elsewhere in Italian literature, as in the description of the enchanted gardens in Boiardo's *Orlando Inammorato* and in Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore*, while Armida's garden in which Tasso represents Rinaldo as detained has been identified with St. Brendan's Fortunate Island.[86] Other poems merely mention Brendan as a figure well known in medieval literary circles. The following lines in the *Roman de Renart*,[87] where the Fox, disguised as a Breton minstrel, says:

[85] *La Leggenda di S. Brandano*, P. Villari, *Antiche Leggende e Tradizioni che illustrano la "Divina Commedia,"* pp. 82–109, Pisa, 1865; Novati, *Navigatio Brendani*, xiii–xiv.

[86] *Gerusalemme Liberata*, Canto xvi.

[87] I, 2389 ff.

Ge fot savoir bon lai breton
Et de Merlin et de Noton,
Del roi Artu et de Tristan,
De chevrefoil, de Saint Brandan,

are important as showing that in the thirteenth century there existed a French *lai* on St. Brendan and that his legend was regarded, incorrectly of course, as belonging to the Arthurian cycle. In Chrétien de Troies *Yvain*[88] there is a passage describing the numerous birds on trees "singing Mass," a motive which seems to be borrowed from the "Paradysus Avium" or "Fowelen Parays," in the Bredan story. Again[89] Chrétien describes birds singing canticles. Consequently, he must have been acquainted with the Voyage of St. Brendan and with the idea, common in Celtic belief, of souls appearing in the form of birds. Furthermore, the Brendan legend is closely related to the literature of vision, of which it forms an important chapter and, possibly in ways yet to be discovered, it will be found to throw some light on the Grail romances. In Pseudo-Chrétien, for example, Perceval's mother is described as going on pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Brendan.[90]

There are two renditions of the Brendan story in early English, one, in verse, belonging to the fourteenth century, the other being Wynkyn de Worde's prose redaction of two hundred years later. Caxton, the first English printer, published a translation of the Brendan Voyage in 1483, so that it was among the very first books printed in English. A most interesting group of vulgar versions consists of those in German and Dutch, and an Old Norse fragment which seems to be Norwegian with an Icelandic coloring. By the end of the twelfth century arose a Middle Frankish poem, now lost, from which grew all the German versions. Most closely related to it is a Middle Dutch poem of the first half of the thirteenth century, *Van Sinte Brandane*, the original of which is lost. Also to the twelfth century belongs another recension of the Middle Frankish, which is represented by the poem, *Von Sente Brandan*, and probably arose on the right bank of the lower Main. In the fourteenth century was

[88] Lines 471–472; *Zeitschrift für vergleich. Litteraturgeschichte*, XI, 492–498.
[89] Lines 384 ff.
[90] Alfred Nutt, *The Legend of the Holy Grail*, 265; *Revue Celtique*, X, 347.

composed the Low German version, *Van dem hilgen Sunte Brandan*. The German prototype may go back to a lost Latin redaction of the *Navigatio*, which differed from the existing version. It is just as likely, however, that the German redactor got the story from one of the many Irish monks who were along the middle and lower Rhine in the twelfth century.[91] There are reminiscences of St. Brendan in the *Lohengrin*, the *Wartburgkrieg*[92] and other old German poems. In the Middle High German poem by Moriz von Craon, we read

Ich waene sant Brandan
Durch wunder her gevarn ist.

I think St. Brendan has come here by a miracle.

Many German chap books were printed on the life and adventures of Brandan. One which appeared at Augsburg about 1475 is entitled *Sant Brandon Legend: Hir hebt sich an sand Brandon's Buch was er wunders erfaren hat.*[93] Others, with almost identical titles, such as *Ein hübsch lieblich lesen von sant Brandon, was er wunders uff dem mör erfaren hat*, were published at Basel, Ulm, and Strassburg. The Strassburg print of 1510 contains woodcuts representing Brendan throwing his books into the flames, and relates how he made a ship well bound with iron, after the fashion of Noah's ark, and took on board great stores of food and clothing for twelve years and consecrated a chapel on board. It shows Judas Iscariot sitting on a half-hot, half-cold stone, half-frozen and half-roasted. In the German versions the motive of Brendan's voyage is explained in an original manner. One day he read in a rare book a description of all sorts of impossible things, of three heavens, two paradises, nine purgatories, monsters of the deep and such like extravagances, which so disgusted the good man that in anger he threw the book into the fire. Then an angel appeared to him and chided him for his incredulity, saying, "Why hast thou despised the truth? Knowest thou not that God can do greater wonders than thou hast read of in the book?" As a penance he was made to wander for seven years on the ocean in order that he might see with his own eyes the wonders which had seemed to him so incredible, and after-

[91] *Literaturblatt für germ. u. roman. Philol.*, 1919, p. 82.
[92] Edit. M. Haupt, 1871, l. 884–885.
[93] *The Irish Book Lover*, ix, 133.

wards to describe what he had witnessed. In Ireland, too, we find that Brendan had acquired, as early at least as the first half of the twelfth century, the reputation of being a doubter, for in a litany in the Book of Leinster he is called the Irish "Thomas Apostolus."

In a group of Irish versions,[94] Brendan's voyage is motived in a more poetic manner. Once the twelve apostles of Erin were learning with Findan of Clonard and he had prepared a feast for them. And when the feast was at its height the guests saw a wondrous large flower appear, as a sign from the Land of Promise. They disputed as to who should go to seek the land of the flower, but no one claimed it more than another, and they cast lots in pairs and it fell to the lot of the two Brendans. These two then decided between them and Brendan of Birr was chosen, and all felt sore at heart that the oldest of the saints of Ireland should go "into the maw of the sea and of the great ocean." Our Brendan then volunteered to undertake the journey. Other Irish lives state that it was the words spoken at his ordination, "And every one that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall possess life everlasting," (Matt., xix, 29) and those other words, "Exi de terra tua et cognatione tua" (Acts, vii, 3) which left so deep an impression on his mind that he asked the Lord to give him a secret land in the sea removed from men. And as he slept he heard a voice saying, "Brandane, exaudita est postulatio tua a Domino," and again, "Brandane, fiet tibi secundum desiderium tuum." According to some French versions, the Arsenal manuscript for example,[95] Brendan prayed God to show him the paradise where Adam first lived, and also hell. One version of the life of St. Malo[96] explains that it was not out of a desire to see marvelous things but to escape from the envy and jealousy of their comrades that Brendan and his young disciple decided to sail to the solitary islands. The usual exordium, however, is that one day Brendan was visited by his master, Barintus, whose foster son, Mernoc,

[94] Gorman's *Martyrology*, ix, x; Egerton, 1781; Liber Flavus Fergus., and two Brussels MSS.; *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, X, 1915, pp. 408–420.

[95] *Zeitschrift für Roman. Philol.*, II, 1878, pp. 438–457.

[96] *Annales de Bretagne*, xxii, 709.

had retired to a solitary place in the promised land of the saints where he found a very delectable island. Mernoc had persuaded his foster father to accompany him on one of those voyages. In the Middle English version, Brendan chides Barintus for his sadness:[97] "And saynt Brandon comforted him the best wyse he coude, sayenge, 'Ye come hyther for to be joyful with me, and therefore for Goddes love leve your mournynge, and tell me what mervayles ye have seen in the grete see occean, that compasseth all the worlde aboute, and all other waters comen out of hym, whiche renneth in all the partyes of the erth."

Let the Irish life tell us how Brendan and his companions put to sea:

> So Brendan, son of Findlug, sailed then over the wave-voice of the strong-maned sea, and over the storm of the green-sided waves and over the mouth of the marvelous, awful, bitter ocean, where they saw the multitude of the furious red-mouthed monsters, with abundance of great sea-whales. And they found beautiful, strange islands, and yet they tarried not therein.[98]

And they took no provisions with them, for they trusted that God would sustain them wheresoever they might go, and they sailed wherever the wind carried them; time, distance and direction meant nothing to them.

> Now when the Easter was nigh, his crew kept saying to Brendan that he should go on land to celebrate the Easter. "God," saith Brendan, "is able to give us land in any place that He pleases." Now after the Easter was come, the great sea-beast raised his shoulder on high over the storm and over the wave-voice of the sea so that it was level, firm land, like a field equally smooth, equally high. And they go forth upon that land, and they celebrate the Easter there, even one day and two nights.[98]

So far, the Lismore Irish account of this, the best known, episode of the Brendan legend. The Latin and Romance versions, however, especially the Old Venetian, describe the sea monster in greater detail. The remainder of the adventure may best be told in its Middle English setting:

> Hi makede fur and soden hem fisch in a caudroun faste.
> Er this fisch were i-sode, somdel hi were agaste.
> For tho this fur was thurf hot, the yle quakede anon,
> And with gret eir hupte al up; this monekes dradde echon.

[97] Edit. Wright, p. 35.

[98] Stokes' translation, with slight changes.

Hi bihulde hou the yle in the see wende faste,
And as a quic thing hupte up and down, and that fur fram him caste.
Hi suam more than tuei myle while this fur i-laste.
The monekes i-seze the fur wel longe, and were sore agaste;
Hi cride zurne on seint Brendan, what the wonder were.
"Beoth stille," quath this gode man, "for nozt ze nabbe fere!
Ze weneth that hit beo an yle, ac ze thencheth amis;
Hit is a fisch of this grete see, the gretteste that ther is,
Jascom he is i-cleped, and fondeth nizt and dai
To putte his tail in his mouth, ac for gretnisse he ne mai.[99]

The whale-island was a very popular myth in the Middle Ages, and many references to it are found in the literature of the time. It is seriously referred to in an Irish poem describing the characteristic virtues of the Irish saints and among them the rigor of Brendan's rule.[100] This poem has been attributed to Cuimin of Condeire, Bishop of Noendruim, †658, but its language points to the twelfth rather than to the seventh century. It begins, "Carais Brenainn biothcrábudh."

Brendan loved lasting devotion,
According to the synod and assembly;
Seven years on the great beast's back he spent:
It was a difficult mode of devotion.

The Irish writers may have got the fancy of the whale-island from the Anglo-Saxon version of a Latin *Physiologus*, and it is found in connection with other saints, as well as with Brendan.[101] A somewhat similar notion occurs in Greek, in Lucian's *Traveller's Tale*, and in Norse in the idea of the midgard serpent, the great kraken, a form of the underlying world-serpent which figures so largely in the mythic cosmogony of the Scandinavians, but it is by no means to be regarded merely as a development of a kenning for a ship, and of viking origin. Rodulphus Glaber, who wrote his *Historia Sui Temporis* [102] about the year 1047, but borrowed his reference from a text we know not how much earlier, thus describes the whale adventure of Brendan: "At even Brendan and his companions saw an island and they went on it to pass the night and sleep; but Brendan remained on watch, and he

[99] WRIGHT, pp. 8–9.
[100] *Lismore Lives*, l.3611 fl.; *Zeitschrift für celt. Philol.*, I, 62.
[101] BILI'S *Life*, ch. xxvi; *Anonymous Life*, ch. xiii.
[102] Book ii, ch. 2; *Zeitschrift für celt. Philol.*, v, 137.

saw that the island on which they were moved eastward. They spent several days on their island-ship which brought them at last to a wonderful island." In the Anglo-Saxon version in the *Codex Exoniensis*[103] the monster is called "Fastitocalon," "the ocean floater," where ships cast anchor and sailors go ashore and make a fire, whereupon the whale dives down and ship and crew are drowned. The same story, together with a number of other extravaganzas on the Brendan legend, is found in the *Peregrinatio Ioan. Hesei ab Hierusalem instituta*, Antuerpiae, 1565.

A definition of the sea-beast which received general acceptance in the Middle Ages is given in a few lines by Philippe de Thaun in his Anglo-Norman *Bestiaire;* and almost in the same words in Italian prose by Brunetto Latini in his *Tesoretto*, which was composed about the year in which Dante was born. The former is as follows:

> Cetus ceo est mult grant beste, tut tens en mer converse;
> Le salbon de mer prent, sur son dos l' estent,
> Sur mer s' esdrecerat, en pais si esterat.
> Li notuners la veit, quide que ille soit,
> Iloc vait ariver sun cunrei aprester.
> Li balain le fu sent e le nef e la gent:
> Lores se plungerat, si il pot, si's neierat.

Cetus is a great fish which most people call whale. This fish raises his back in the high sea and will lie so long in one place that the wind brings sand and spreads it on his back and thereon grow trees and little shrubs. Seafarers are often deceived by it, for they think that it is an island where they land and drive stakes and make a fire to prepare their meals, but when the fish feels the heat he cannot bear it, but will plunge down to the sea and drown all that he has on him.[104]

The Old Norse fragment reads:

"Kynlict thykeir ythr, hui aeý thessi ferr sia?" Tha suorothu thæir honum: "Oss thykkir einka kynlekt, oc rædder eru ver um for æyiar thessar." Tha suarathi B.: "Bœrn min, verit eigi rædder, guth syndi mer i nótt, huat that iartegnier; that er eigi eý, er ver bioggum i, that er fiskr, sa er mestr er i hæiminum, oc ferr at leita at sporthi sinum oc villdi koma ollu saman sporthi oc hofthi, oc má eigi, sua er hawn mykill, enn hann heitir a bok Jaskonius."

"Wonderful, ye think, that the island so travels." Then they answered him: "It seems very wonderful and fearful to us, because of

[103] Ed. Thorpe, London, 1842; Early English Text Society, No. 104.

[104] WRIGHT, *The Percy Society*, p. 60.

the movement of the island." Then answered Brandan: "My children, be not afraid. God hath disclosed to me last night what this meaneth: It is no island on which we were; it is a fish that is the greatest in the world, and it strives to reach its tail and bring head and tail together, but it is so large that it cannot, and it is called in a book, Jaskonius."

This fable suggested a bold simile to Milton where, in *Paradise Lost*, he likens Satan to

> that sea-beast
> Leviathan, whom God of all his works
> Created hugest that swim the ocean stream;
> Him, haply, slumbering on the Norway foam,
> The pilot of some small night-foundered skiff,
> Deeming some island, oft, as seamen tell,
> With fixèd anchor in his scaly rind,
> Moors by his side under the lee . . .[105]

Even in the Orient we find the same fancy or something similar to it. In the ancient Indian myths there is a story of a girl sailing over the waves on the leaf of a water lily.[106] In the Middle Dutch Brendan, the saint meets a man who was only a thumb long, floating on a leaf and holding a little bowl in his right hand and a pointer in his left. The pointer he kept dipping into the sea and letting the water drop from it into the bowl; when the bowl was full, he emptied it out and began filling it up again; and that was his doom, to be measuring the sea until judgment day.[107] Among the tales that occur in the Talmud is one told by Rabba, how one day he and his companions saw a whale, and earth and sand were on it. They disembarked and baked and cooked on its back; but when the fire became hot, the beast turned over, and if the ship had not been near they would all have been drowned.[108] The episode is found also in the Zend Avesta[109] and, in more modern times, there is the picture of the fish-island described by Ariosto in the *Orlando Furioso*,[110]

> "Veggiamo una balena . . ."

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[105] *Paradise Lost*, i, 201–207.

[106] Müllenhoff, p. 340; Nansen, ii, 234.

[107] Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythol.*, 3 edit., i, 420; Stallybrass's trans., ii, 451 Blommaert's *Oudvlaemsche Gedichten*, i, 118b; ii, 26a; *Revue Celtique*, vi, 214.

[108] Freudenthal, Benfey.

[109] J. Darmesteter, i, p. 88.

[110] Canto VI, st. 37 fl.

There we behold a mighty whale, of size
The hugest yet in any waters seen;
More than eleven paces, to our eyes,
His back appears above the surface green:
And (for still firm and motionless he lies,
And such the distance his two ends between)
We all are cheated by the floating pile,
And idly take the monster for an isle.[111]

But the instance of the fable with which everybody is familiar is found in the story of Sindbad in *The Thousand and One Nights*. There has been much discussion whether the whale episode was transmitted to the Arabs from Ireland or the reverse, or, if the imagination of two peoples of such different cultures as the Irish and the Arabs created it independently. We must allow that there are many other striking resemblances between the Sindbad story and the story of Brendan, and it is not improbable that there was some reciprocal borrowing between the two peoples. Another possible explanation is that an Irish monk traveling in the East told the story of Brendan or heard the story of Sindbad, and that in that way the fable passed from one literature to the other. It can scarcely be doubted, however, that the Arabian geographer, Edrisi, who wrote about the year 1150 at the Court of the Norman King, Roger II of Sicily, and mentions a Sheep Island, an Island of Birds, and other scenes belonging to the Brendan story, got his knowledge of these wonders from one of the Latin or Romance Brendan versions which were current on the continent in the twelfth century. Valuable testimony to the Irish origin of the fable is afforded by the name given to the leviathan in all the versions of the story except in the Irish itself. In the latter it is called merely "Míl mór," "the great beast"; elsewhere it bears the name Jasconius, Jascon, Gasconius, Jascon, Iastoyn, or Yeson, all of which are neither more nor less than the latinization of the Irish word *iasc*, "a fish." In the Anglo-Norman version this word has again reverted to a common noun, *li jascoines*. The whale-island is even depicted on early maps and manuscripts of the Brendan story, for example, in a copy of Richard Fournival's *Bestiaire d' Amour*,[112] which contains two illustrations showing Brendan's

[111] Rose's translation.

[112] P. GAFFAREL, *Découverte de l'Amérique*, Paris, 1892, I, 256.

ship moored along-side the whale, and two monks sitting on the beast's back and a blazing fire between them. But the most detailed picture of the scene is found on a map accompanying a book written in 1621 by a Benedictine monk in the monastery of Seittenstött, in lower Austria.[113] The map is in other respects also largely fanciful, but shows "Hispania" and "Cabo Finis Terrae" in fairly correct position. Northwest of "Cabo Finis Terrae," in the ocean, is an island of irregular shape, extending from east to west and bearing the legend "Is. S. Brandano." To the southwest is a group of seven islands labeled "Insulae Fortunatae," only one of which, the center one of the group, is named, "M. Canarie." Between this group and "Is. S. Brendano" is an enormous sea-beast making towards Gibraltar, with curved tusks, a thin beard, a collar of scalloped skin around its neck, and spouting great streams of water from two openings in its forehead. It propels itself by means of huge fins, and its tail, which terminates in a two-forked tuft, is curled up over on its back. Standing round are four vessels built like Chinese junks, with a capacious cabin fore and aft, and with four or five banks of oars, one or two masts and a flag flying from them. In the foreground is a boat in which a monk with a halo around his head stands and paddles, while two other monks sit in the stern perusing a book. The largest ship in the fleet rests athwart the whale near its tail with a ladder reaching down to its back; on its shoulder an altar has been erected; a chalice and crucifix stand in the middle with a lighted candle at either side. The celebrant, wearing Mass vestments, kneels before the altar, and around him seven men, all dressed in the Spanish style of the seventeenth century, have found lodgment for their knees in the scales of the marine monster.

After their first fright, Brendan's sailors are on good terms with Jasconius, the obliging king of fishes, and wherever they might be, when the Easter of every year was at hand, the whale would heave up his back so that it was dry and solid land, "and anone they sawe theyr caudron upon the fysshes backe whiche they had left there xij monethes to-fore.[114] On their second

[113] *Nova Typis Transacta Navigatio Novi Orbis Indiae Occidentalis.* Honorious Philoponus, *Navig. Patruum ord. S. Benedicti*, facing page 13.

[114] English prose version, ed. T. Wright, p. 45.

voyage, the mariners experienced a similar marvel. As they rode nimbly over the ocean they beheld a monstrous animal swimming after them: "As big as a brazen cauldron was each of his two eyes, a boar's tusks had he; furzy hair upon him; and he had the maw of a leopard with the strength of a lion and the rage of a hound. . . .Then a huge sea whale arose between them and yon monstrous sea beast. And each of them began drowning the other, and battling savagely, till each of them drowned the other in the depth of the sea, and neither of the twain was seen thenceforward."[115]

After some further adventures, the pious sea-farers reach the Isle of Paradise, which they have sought so perseveringly for the space of seven years. Here the Irish narrative comes to an end, and we shall have to fall back upon the Latin, Romance and Germanic versions for an account of the other incidents of the voyage, each step of which is a wonder. It is not the purpose of this study, however, to follow our pious sea-farer over all the seas he sailed nor to describe in detail the marvels the tale tells of: the Isle of the Sleepy Well, the Isle of Grapes, the Sheep Island, where the animals governed themselves according to laws of their own. On one island was a beautiful grove covered with trees, flowers and fruits; as the sun rose, the trees peeped out of the ground, and little by little grew with the sun till noon when they stopped an instant, and then, as soon as the sun had passed the zenith, the trees began to dwindle, so that when the sun had set beneath the horizon the grove too had disappeared in the earth and there was no sign to show where it had been. Another was the Isle of Silence, wherein no voice was heard. Whoever needed anything knelt before the master, who took a style and tablet and, by revelation from God, wrote his answer to what the other had asked for in his heart. There the altar lamps never grew less and were lighted by a flaming arrow which flew in at the window from the sky. Each island was inhabited by saints who were nourished in a miraculous manner, and who spent their time in prayer, fasting and singing.

> In the grete see of occian forth hi rewe faste,
> And triste al to oure Loverdes grace, and nothing nere agaste.[116]

[115] Stokes' translation, with slight changes. *Lismore Lives*, pp. 113, 238.

[116] WRIGHT, *o. c.*, p. 5.

and the travelers came to the Paradise of Birds where they conversed with the souls of the angels who remained neutral at the time of Lucifer's rebellion: "And on every bough sate a fayre byrde, and they sate so thycke on the tree that unneth ony lefe of the tree myght be seen, the nombre of them was so grete, and they songe so meryly that it was an hevenly noyse to here. Wherefore saynt Brandon kneled down on his knees, and wepte for joye, and made his prayers devoutly unto our Lord God to knowe what these byrdes ment. And than anone one of the byrdes fledde fro the tree to saynt Brandon, and he with flykerynge of his wynges made a full mery noyse like a fydle, that hym semed he herde never so joyful a melodye." In the Book of Lismore[117] is a poem in Irish, beginning "Dia do betha, a Brenainn, sunn," "Welcome here, O Brendan," addressed by the "senior" of an island, in welcome to Brendan and his crew. The "senior" relates how he came to be there, how he and his companions, twelve in all, had left Ireland "seeking heaven," and that all but himself had died. He revealed to the saints-errant the land they sought, even the Land of Promise, and then, having partaken of Christ's Body and His Blood, he went to heaven. One day the wind bore Brendan's boat northward to a horrid island. When they had come to within a stone's throw of it, they heard a great puffing and blowing of bellows, and a striking of sledges on anvils. But they could see nothing, wherefore they were sore afraid and blessed them oft. Then behold one of the islanders appeared and he was all hideous and black and burning with fire. And when he caught sight of Brendan's crew he stared full ghastly on them with great, staring eyes and hurried back to his forge, shouting "Ho! ho!" and, at that, all the dwellers of that island ran to the shore bearing iron tongs and glowing massy balls of fire which they hurled at the servants of Christ. But they harmed them not, but the sea, where they fell, seethed and hissed like a cauldron full of red hot coals. Wherefore the fiends roared and hurried back and fired their smithies, and all the island and the sea seemed one mass of fire, and all that day and night the terrified travelers saw the flames and heard the awful wailing and howling of the demons. They hoisted the sail, had out the oars and made haste away from that dreadful isle.

[117] Stokes' edition, pp. 113–114.

On the Feast of St. Peter they came to a place where the sea was perfectly clear. And under the water was a great city with castles and towers, and myriads of sea monsters and fishes, in the shape of all the beasts of the earth, lay on the bed of the ocean motionless, as if they were asleep, and each with the tail of another in its mouth. The monks were sore afraid and counseled Brendan to speak softly lest he wake the fishes and they break the ship. But the God-fearing admiral laughed and told them to fear not, and then, in the words of the Venetian version, "he began to sing the most he could, and as soon as he had begun the Mass, all the fishes arose round about the ship and some went under the waves and others stood out of the water like gnats on wine, and not one of them touched the ship but swam around it here and there at a respectful distance until the Mass had been sung, when they disappeared. The sailors next skirted the "Smoky Mountain," and after sailing due south a course of seven days, they came upon some strange-looking object standing out of the sea. According to the Provençal version, when they saw it from afar, some of them thought it was a wreck of a boat and others said it was a dead fish. The same doubt is expressed in a Dutch version which is literally translated from the Latin.[118] "Somich van den brueders sechden, dat het een vogel waer; somich waenden dat het een scepe waer; ende die man Gods hoerden dat si daer van, ende sechte: 'En wilt niet twisten; stuert dat scepe tot die stede'."[119] On coming nearer they descried that it was a rock, and thereon sat a shaggy, misshapen man. Before his face hung a cloth the size of a bag, supported between two iron poles, wherewith the wind and the waves smote him upon the eyes and up to the crown of his head, as a little skiff is struck by the tempest. When again the waves fell away they laid bare the rock whereon the unhappy man sat. The Anglo-Saxon[120] description deserves to be quoted:

> A wrechedde gost, naked & bar, in meseise inouz:
> Aboue him was acloth iteid: myd twei tongen vaste,
> The nether ende tilde to is chynne; ouer al the wynd it caste,
> Tht (wan tht) water him with drouz tht cloth, tht heng so heie,

[118] JUBINAL, p. 43.

[119] MOLTZEN, p. 33.

[120] Ashmolan, l.521–529; *Archiv für das Studium der neuer. Sprachen u. Literaturen*, xxix Jahrf., 53 Bd., p. 32.

Bet, as the wynd it bleu, then wreche amydde the eie.
The wawes bete ek of the se bi uore & bihynde;
Wrecchedore gost then he was ne dorte nomon fynde.
S. brendan him bad agodes name to telle him wat he were.
& wat he hadde god mysdo, & wat hi dude there.

This "wretched ghost" was Judas Iscariot who, through the divine mercy, on Sundays and the other holy days of the year, enjoyed a mitigation which seemed happiness and repose in comparison with his ordinary sufferings in the pit of hell. It was part of the "theology of sentiment," in the Middle Ages, as distinct from the idea of an irrevocable damnation, to believe that the greatest of sinners and the one least worthy of pardon or pity enjoyed a respite from the intensity of his sufferings, because of some small fragments of goodness which he had done in his lifetime.[121] The stone whereon he sat, he once had placed in a muddy path for the ease of them who went that way; wherefore it easeth him now. The cloth which dulled the cut of the waves, yet lashed him in the eyes and face, he once had given to a leper, but it was bought with money that he stole from our Lord's purse, wherefore now it galls him more than it soothes. The iron forks, (or, according to some versions, the two oxtongues), which hung before him, he once had given to the priests of the Temple, whereon to hang pots, and, since they were bought with his own money, they are a comfort to him now, for the fishes gnaw on them and spare him. "Now," quoting from the Latin version, "when the vesper hour had covered the face of Thetis, the devils came to hale their fellow, Judas, to the master, the great devil, but, to their great chagrin, his torments were stayed for that night through the intercession of the blessed Brendan." In a fifteenth century German chap book on St. Brendan, Judas is made to say: "Had I had real rue, so would God have shown me His great grace and mercy, even though I had sold Him," and, in our own day, the French symbolist Paul Verlaine has maintained that Judas's punishment was because he had despaired: "Judas is damned," he says, "but not for having betrayed Christ; no, not for that. He is damned for having hanged himself in despair, for having doubted the infinite mercy of God."

[121] *Romania*, xviii, 1889, p. 636.

The meeting of Brendan and Judas is not described in the Lismore version, but it is found in other Irish manuscripts.[122] The lament of Judas on his sin, addressed to Brendan, is very powerful and poetic in the Old Irish:

Mairc dorighne mairec dogni. mairec a thurus for bith cé.
Intí doní saint tarró. Mairec fa dó 7 mairec, a dhé.

. . . . . .

Uch, a Brenainn, fégaidh me. cech a ndénaim damh is mo
Ifern dona daer dubh dall. uch as ann atú sa béo.

Woe to him that hath done this. Alas for him that does it.
Sad his journey in this world; the covetous man is joyless.

. . . . . .

Ah, O Brendan, look at me. All I do brings me more pain.
Dire hell, hateful, black, and blind: Alas, 'tis there I am living.

In the Tuscan prose version[123] there is a curious passage in which Judas gives the reasons why he betrayed Christ. From the Brendan legend, the Judas episode passed into Gautier de Metz's *Image du Monde* and into a poem of Baudouin de Sebourg; it is also found in a story of Huon of Bordeaux[124] which tells how, during a storm at sea, he perceived a man swimming in the midst of the waters. It was Judas, and his only protection from the fury of the wind and waves was a small piece of cloth which, while on earth, he had bestowed in charity. The meeting with Judas is described in greatest detail in the Latin *Vita Secunda*[125] and in the Norman-French poem, both of which contain passages which are not unworthy of being placed alongside the *Divina Commedia*. In fact, in his conception of the punishment inflicted upon Judas and because of the pity and commiseration which he feels for him, the unknown writer has produced something infinitely more tender and poetic than the picture which the great Florentine has left of him, with his head munched by Satan and kicking his legs in the air:

"Quell' anima lassù, c' ha maggior pena,"
Disse 'l Maestro, "è Giuda Scariotto,
Che 'l capo ha dentro, e fuor le gambe mena"

[122] Brussels, 5100–5104; Fermoy fo. 58a.
[123] Villari, *o. c.*, pp. 96–97.
[124] Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction*, London, 1896, I, p. 128.
[125] Plummer, *o. c.*, II, 286–287.

"That soul up there which has the greater pain'
Judas Iscariot is," my guide averred.
"With head inside and legs that outside strain."[127]

Thence the voyagers sail south "glorifying God in all things," and on the third day they reach a small round island difficult of access, wherein they converse with Paul the Hermit, whose snow white hair covered him like a garment. He informs the godly sailors that they are near their journey's end, even "Dat lant der gelofften der heiligen," the "Terra Repromissionis Sanctorum." The Irish life of Brendan breaks off abruptly without giving any idea of the appearance of the earthly Paradise. A later scribe has tried to make good the defect by appending a long portion of a description of heaven as seen in a vision by another Irishman, Adamnan, but the addition has nothing whatsoever to do with the voyage of St. Brendan. Indeed, in all the versions the Land of Promise is described with a sobriety which appears excessive when we remember that this is the scope of the voyage and consider the prolixity with which things of much less account are narrated.

When the days of their pilgrimage on the ocean were over, the seafarers reached home in Ireland where the news of their arrival spread rapidly. Their relatives rejoiced at their safe return and gave thanks to God:

La nuvele va par païs
Que venuz est de paraïs.
Ne sunt haitet sul li parent,
Ainz sunt tres tuz comunement.[128]

We may be sure that Brendan and his companions often sailed their voyage over in the gardens and halls of the cloister, —"qui navigant mare, enarrant pericula ejus"—and thus their adventures became hardly less edifying to the brothers who had remained at home than to be intrepid sailors themselves. One winter day as the man of God was strolling with the brothers, a storm of snow and hail came upon them, so that they could scarcely walk. The snow completely covered the ground. And the brothers said to one another, "Could the punishment in hell be worse than this cold?" Brendan, hearing their question,

[127] *Inferno*, xxxiv, 61–63. Sidney Gunn's translation.
[128] Anglo-Norman poem, lines1816–1820.

answered: "Listen, brothers, to what I tell you. One day on my voyages we heard a great groaning and wailing in the sea, so that the spirit of each of us shuddered. And we sailed to a place nearby to learn the cause of the weeping. And behold we saw the mouth of the sea opened, and therein we espied a solitary rock, whereon sat that sad and piteous voice. For the sea swept over the rock from every side, and from the east it dashed waves of fire, and from the west waves of ice and of intolerable cold. And thus was verified the word of God, 'Let him pass from the snow waters to excessive heat, and his sin even to hell.'"

All the copies of the story conclude with a pious prayer for intercession. In the Old Venetian it runs in this wise: "May Brendan, in his holiness, pray God for me too, and may God give me grace to make good end of soul and of body. And also may he pray God for all who read this, his legend, and for those who hear willingly his story, to the honor of God and of him who was a good man, a saintly and upright monk from his boyhood to the day of his death. Deo Gratias. Amen."

Various attempts have been made to interpret the St. Brendan legend. It is, of course, out of the question to accept one extreme view of it and to regard it as a true narrative in every particular. Nor is the other extreme view any more likely to be correct, which is, to look upon the story as nothing but a hermit's dream, a pious romance or mystical allegory intended to represent the cloistral life, or a monk's progress from one ideal monastery to another. The tradition according to which St. Brendan became a celebrated sailor and discoverer who made a seven years' voyage in search of the Land of Promise must be based on some kernel of truth, which, however, has long since been obscured by the workings of the Celtic imagination. The very instincts that are most characteristic of the race among whom the legend arose, as disclosed in the literature of the pagan Irish—a profound religiosity, a desire to penetrate the unknown and to make the unseen world actual, a thirst for an ideal, a craving after new adventures and extravagant wonders—all prevail to a high degree in the voyage of St. Brendan. Superimposed on those typically Celtic qualities, are these virtues which are chiefly due to Christian influence—patience and charity, a feeling for humanity, equality

and democracy—Brendan addresses his brothers lovingly as "commilitones mei" and "combellatores," "fellow warriors, soldiers, comrades"—a feeling of nothingness and helplessness in the face of the grandeur of creation and an utter faith in the power and goodness of God to avert all perils. There is also something particularly attractive about these sailor-monks who not only could fast and pray, but could sail a ship with some of the spirit of the buccaneers.

Ernest Renan has written a charming page à propos of the voyage of St. Brendan and the singular combination of Celtic naturalism and Christian spiritualism from which it sprang: "What more delightful dream than that Land of Promise where reigns perpetual day. There, all the plants bear flowers, all the trees bear fruits. Only a few privileged men have visited it, and, on their return, they are known by the fragrance which their garments keep for forty days. In the midst of these dreams appears with surprising truth the sensation of polar voyages picturesque with the transparence of the sea, vistas of ice islands melting in the sun, volcanic phenomena of Iceland, the sporting of whales and the characteristic appearances of the fiords of Norway; the sudden fogs and the sea as calm as milk; green islands crowned with verdure descending to the waves. This fantastic nature, created expressly for another humanity, this strange topography, dazzling with fiction and speaking with reality, make the poem of St. Brendan one of the most astonishing creations of the human mind and, perhaps, the most complete expression of the Celtic ideal."[129]

Despite the profound study which has been given to the subject, considerable obscurity still remains as to the source of the episodes which have been employed to construct the mosaic-like story of the Voyage of St. Brendan: old Irish myths, reports of earlier sea voyages, Christian legends of Irish missionaries, and perhaps even the Orient, have probably all contributed material, though in different degree. Some of the episodes appear strikingly like reminiscences of classical literature, the Odyssey and the Aeneid, for example, with which the early Irish were familiar.

Navigation and shipbuilding had reached a high stage of development even among the ancient Celts. In the short cam-

[129] *Essais de Morale et de Critique*, 4 ed., 1889, p. 445.

paign which he carried on in Britain, Julius Caesar obtained ideas of naval construction from the native ships which he turned to advantage the following year, in his sea fight with the Celtic Veneti in the Bay of Biscay. Though the Romans were successful in that engagement, the naval equipment of the Celts was superior and there may have been some Irish ships in the fleet of the Veneti.[130] There is no reason to believe that Irish sailors were not at least as daring and enterprising as the mariners of other lands. Tacitus, writing in the first century after Christ, says that the harbors of Ireland were better known on the continent than were the harbors of Britain. In the fourth and fifth centuries of our era, the Irish carried on a flourishing commerce with southern and western Gaul, not via Britain, but directly, bringing back, among other commodities, wine in exchange for the products of their own country. They are known to have been north of the Clyde in the fifth century A. D., where they fought the Picts, the British and the Angles; that they were on the west coast of Wales and Cornwall in the same century is testified to by inscriptions of Irish origin which are found there. It is stated in the mythical history of Ireland that King Mogh Corb, son of Cormac Cas, in the third century, A. D. went, "with a manning of 300 ships," to invade Scandinavia.[131] Later, however, in the ninth and following centuries, when the Irish came into contact with the Northmen, who were above all a seagoing people, these Vikings controlled the seaport towns which they established in Ireland and gathered into their hands all Irish commerce. A mark of their influence is seen in the fact that most of the words for large ships and parts of a ship in Irish are of Scandinavian origin. In ancient Irish saga tales, such as *Echtra Connla*, "The Adventures of Connla," appear boats of glass in which fairy women came to earth, or copper boats, as in the tale known as *Serglige Conculaind*, "The Sick Bed of Cuchulainn," or such a crystal boat as Merlin sailed in in search of the blessed islands. There is mention also of a self-moving boat which led through a blinding mist to Manannan's marvelous island. But the Irish had also safer and more businesslike ships, provided with sails, ropes and tackle and everything needed to steer and

[130] *De Bello Civili*, I, liiii.

[131] KEATING, *History of Ireland*, ed. DINNEEN, II, 354–356.

manage the vessel. Adamnan mentions no less than nine kinds of ships as in use among the Irish of his day (seventh–eighth century), of which the "navis longa" and "navis oneraria," cargo ships, must have been capable of going on extensive voyages. But the boats to which the Irish mariner monks trusted themselves on the sea were very light, their sides and bindings being of osiers fixed to some solid pieces of wood and overlaid with hides and smeared with oil and gum. They were small enough to be drawn overland, when necessary, and brought down again to the sea when it was time to leave. Boats of this kind are called *curach*, in Irish, and they are not quite extinct on the west coast of Ireland.[132] They are described, in ancient times, for example, by Caesar,[133] Lucan,[134] Pliny,[135] Avienus,[136] and Solinus,[137] Lucan speaks of the Britons navigating the ocean in their boats of osier: " . . . the bending willow into barks they twine, then line the work with skins of slaughtered kine."[138] Sidonius Apollinaris[139] describes the British boatman,

> . . . . . Cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum
> Ludus et assuto glaucum mare findere lembo,

and Avienus tells how "They sew skins to skins and plow the pathless seas in furthest parts with keels of leather." Finally, Auguste Brizeux, the poet of *Les Bretons*, describes the Irish sailor-monks:

> Dans leurs barques d'osier recouvertes de peau
> Ils voguaient, engourdis par les vagues glacées
> Et les côtes partout de neiges hérissées.[140]

In the Irish Book of Lismore is a poem in four quatrains, by an unknown poet, which describes Brendan's boat and crew, the company which he took with him and the number of ships in which they sailed. It begins, "Trí longa seolais in saoi":[141]

> Three vessels the sage sailed
> Over the wave-voice of the very wet sea:

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[132] REEVES' *Adamnan*, p. 170, note k.
[133] *De Bello Civili*, i, liiii.
[134] *Pharsalia*, iv, 130–135.
[135] *Hist. Natural.*, vii, c. 57.
[136] *Ora Mariti.*, v, 101–107.
[137] *Polyhistor.*, c. 22.
[138] *Pharsalia*, iv, 136.
[139] Carmen i, l.370–371.
[140] *Les Bretons*, chant III, p. 31.
[141] *Lismore Lives*, p. 106.

Thirty men in each vessel he had.
Over the storm of the crested sea.

When he returned home from his first cruise his foster mother counseled him to sail again, but this time in a wooden ship. He then built in Connaught "a great marvelous vessel," which held all his household, his wrights and smiths, his plants and seeds, and everything that was needed for the voyage.

Brendan was not the only Irish monk who filled his sails with adventurous winds and embarked on a monastic journey. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,[142] under the year 891, tells of three Irishmen named Dubslane, Macbeth, and Maelinmuin, who set out to visit King Ælfred: "And they came in a boat without oars, from Ireland, whence they had stolen away; because for the love of God they desired to be on pilgrimage, they recked not whither. The boat in which they sailed was made of two hides and a half; and they took with them provisions for seven nights. And on the seventh night they came on shore in Cornwall and fared at once to King Ælfred." In Manus O'Donnell's *Betha Coluim Chille*, "Life of Columcille,"[143] is related an adventure of Columcille with Mongan mac Fiachna, son of the king of Ulster, who came to match skill and knowledge with him and who declared that he had knowledge of many of the countries and islands and the hidden isles of the world. "In especial know I the thrice fifty islands that are westward from Erin in the sea. And thrice the measure of Erin is each of these islands." "And who is it dwelleth in those lands and districts whereby until today we have had no tidings?" saith Columcille. "There dwell therein," saith Mongan mac Fiachna, "worshipful folk of fair shape and form, both men and women, and there be bright cows with red ears there that have with them calves of like hue. And there be white sheep, exceeding many. These be the cattle and gear they have.[144] Columcille himself was a good sailor. On a time that he was traveling the sea by the coast of Alba, a great wind arose so that the ship was in great danger of sinking. And through humility Columcille bailed the bilge-water out

[142] Edit. Thorpe, ii, 69, Master of the Rolls Collection.
[143] Pp. 78–81.
[144] O'Kelleher and Schoepperle, *Life of Columcille*, p. 78.

of the ship.[145] Many if not most of these sea tales grew out of the practice of Irish monks of seeking a solitary place of meditation, penance and prayer, in the deserts of the ocean. During the course of the sixth century there arose in the seacoast dwellers of Ireland the same desire to go forth and become hermits and missionaries which, in the preceding century, had won for their countrymen the reputation for wandering which they enjoyed during the early Middle Ages. Possibly another reason why the Irish sought retirement on distant islands was because Roman ecclesiastical customs were beginning to spread all over Ireland. At the close of the Synod of Whitby, held in 664, when the king of Northumbria decided in favor of the institutions of Saint Peter as against the Irish practices of St. Columcille, several conformed to the practice of their opponents, the others retired in silent discontent to Iona.[146] Later, with the spread of the new regulations, the stubborn Irish monks were obliged to retreat into the very ocean. This yearning for a place of utter retirement from the world became with the Irish a passion. It is constantly referred to in the lives of Irish saints and has left its impression on the topography of the country in the Latin word *desertum*, which, though disguised in Anglo-Irish writings under a variety of spellings, most frequently occurs as Dysart or Dysert. Such was the ascetic ardor of these Irish anchorites, as almost to outdo the hermits of the sandy deserts of Syria and Egypt. Yet deserts of sand still attached them to earth, from which, if they could, they would escape entirely. So they sought for a desert in the ocean: "Eremum in oceano quaerere," and "Pro Christo peregrinare votens, enavigavit," are constantly recurring expressions. Gradually their island cloisters studded the coast of Ireland, "insulas veluti monilia," "like a necklace,"[147] and the circle widened until finally, in the latter part of the fourth century,[148] there was hardly a spray-swept isle off the coast that was not occupied by a small community or by an Irish anchoret, and the more inaccessible and further their retreats were removed from the mainland, the more saintly were held to be those who

[145] *Ibid.*, p. 296.

[146] Lingard, *The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, 2d edit., vol. i, ch. 1.

[147] Ambrose, *Hexam.*, iii, c. 5.

[148] Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 294–295.

dwelt in them. Many of these adventurers must have lost their lives which they had entrusted to cockle shells of wattled twigs, and, as no tidings were ever heard of them, the belief could easily have arisen that they had reached the far off shores of the Land of the Blessed, from which there was no return. In a litany in the Book of Leinster,[149] and the Speckled Book,[150] is mention of an "anchorite whom Brendan met in the Land of Promise, with all the saints that had perished in the dark islands of the ocean." Those whom they had left at home in the ease and peace of the cloister dreamed of the terrible adventures, which, they supposed, had befallen their fellows. These dreams they told for mere amusement or for edification; other tales were highly colored yarns, purporting to be accounts of their adventures in search of the Land of Promise, spun by the adventurers themselves who were fortunate enough to return to their native land. In Adamnan's *Life of St. Columcille* is mention of a certain Baitan, who was Columcille's first successor in the monastery of Iona, and who, along with others, sought a desert "in pelago intransmeabili."[151] About the same time, St. Cormac ua Liathain sailed to northern seas for the same purpose. He made at least three voyages and became known as Cormac Leir, "Cormac of the Sea,"[152] "qui tribus non minus uicibus eremum in oceano laboriose quesivit, nec tamen inuenit." Similar tales are connected with St. Ailbe (Albaeus), of Emly, who lived at the close of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century, and his "family."[153] It is related of him that he had planned to sail to Ultima Thuli, but being dissuaded by the King of Cashel to undertake the voyage alone, he agreed to send twenty-four of the brethren in his stead. On his own journey, Brendan came upon the monastic family of Ailbe on an island which has many of the characteristics of the Land of Promise, though it is not identical with it. Punishment was sometimes inflicted by setting the guilty person adrift in a light skiff or wicker boat with one paddle, or in a leathern box without any paddle at all,

[149] *Book of Leinster*, p. 373, col. 4.
[150] *Leabhar Breac*, "The Speckled Book," p. 23, col. 2, l. 43.
[151] ADAMNAN, ii, 14; *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, viii, 1883, p. 704.
[152] ADAMNAN, i, 6; ii, 42; iii, 17; WAHLUND, *o. c.*, xxii.
[153] COLGAN, *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 241.

with a vessel of meal and water and sometimes with a club for keeping off the beasts of the sea. Many even imposed such an ordeal upon themselves as a penance. This punishment of setting adrift is described in detail by Muirchu[154] and is referred to in the *Ancient Laws of Ireland*[155]: the criminal "must go unarmed to the shore, having nothing but a small and vile garment. He must bind his feet with an iron fetter and fling the fetter-key into the sea. He must then enter a 'navis unius pellis,' a coracle whose wicker framework was covered with hide only one fold deep, and, without food, sail, or rudder, commit himself to the mercy of the elements."

Besides the love of wandering, which was a peculiar ascetic trait of the early Irish Church, the mysterious attraction which the sea has always exercised on the minds of the Celts was a powerful impulse in driving many of the holy men of Ireland to the islands of mid-ocean. This attraction was reinforced by a lingering belief which they held in the existence of a delectable island beyond the waves, where the setting sun sinks in the western regions, and by the belief of the learned Fergil the Geometer, and possibly of other early Irish scholars, in the existence of men at the antipodes. This belief in a Great Land in the west was originally essentially pagan, and, even as such, vestiges of it still haunt the imagination of the longshore folk of Brittany and the west of Ireland. Such a belief in a happy other world is found, of course, among other peoples besides the Celts, but, with the latter, the spirit that pervades it is peculiarly Celtic. This pagan Elysium of the "Sidh" ("fairy") dwellers, the Irish called, and still call, Tír na n-óg, "the land of the (ever) young," Tír na mbeó "the land of the living," Tír na mban, or Tír na nIngen, "the land of women," Mag Mór, Mag Mell, Trag Mór, "the great plain," "the plain of delight," "the great strand," and by other names. The joys of this "Isle Delightsome," or "Lond of Biheste," were anything but spiritual. It remained for Christianity to add the spiritual element, and it is the incomplete amalgamation of Elysium and Eden which has produced the Irish conception of Tír Tairngire, "the Land of Promise," sought by Brendan.

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[154] *Tripartite Life*, ii, 222, 228, clxxiv; O'Kelleher and Schoepperle, *Life of Columcille*, p. xviii, note.

[155] Cf. *Chronicon Scotorum*, 622; *Cáin Adamnáin*, ed. Kuno Meyer, p. 43.

Men thought it a region of sunshine and rest,
And they called it Hy-Brasil, the isle of the blest.[156]

The garments of those who had spent but a few hours in that Promised Land bore the sweet scent of its fragrance for forty days. In the Dutch "Brendan" the returned voyagers ask: "En kendi niet den roeke van onsen clederen dat wi in dat paradijs hebben geweest,"[157] "And know ye not from the fragrance of our garments that we have been in paradise?"

Thus one reason for the great popularity which the Voyage of St. Brendan enjoyed was that it had its roots in an older popular tradition. Another was that, unlike most of the other sea voyages, it had the good fortune to be written in Latin as well as in Irish. It thus came within the ken of western Europe and became a part of the world's literature. Moreover, it was pervaded by a strong mysticism, a peculiar sense of magic, a terrible yet graceful supernaturalism, a vivid love of natural beauty, and by luxuriousness of detail and color. Still another reason was that it combined the marvelous with the edifying and satisfied a natural desire to read of voyages even though one is not able to take part in them. The Irish imagination always ran riot in the oversea voyage literature; nay, the marvelous voyages of the Argo and of Ulysses are reasonable and possible when compared with those of the Irish. And what legends took rise among them! Legends of saints who put to sea in cockle shells and even in *stone* troughs, in which they were wafted without oar or rudder from Ireland to Wales or from Wales to Brittany. And what stronger proof of the reality of those voyages could we demand than the very stone troughs themselves which are still to be seen in Brittany and in which fond mothers place their babes as a cure for many of the ills that flesh is heir to!

When in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Irish historians and encyclopedists gathered into great collections the disjecta membra of the old tradition, they quite arbitrarily classified them according to subject under several heads. The tales of the oversea type they divided into two classes, to which they gave the technical names "Longes" and "Immram." By "Longes," an abstract built on the Irish word *long* (Latin *navis longa*),

[156] Gerald Griffin.

[157] MOLTZER, *Leven*.

"a ship," they meant a voyage entered upon involuntarily or a banishment over the sea. In later times the word was used to mean any banishment, not only by sea or abroad but even from one Irish district to another. The most famous example of the class is *Longes mac nUsnig*, "The Exile of the Children of Usnech." The word "Immram" (pl. Immramha) had a wider scope. Its primary meaning was "a sailing round" or "circumnavigation," but it came to import a voyage of discovery or adventure, or any freely undertaken sea voyage wherein the description of the incidents is the leading motive. The Voyage of Brendan is also called, in Latin, *Navigatio* and *Peregrinatio*, and *Muridecht Brenainn*, in Irish. These tales of the sea seem to have developed between the middle of the seventh and end of the ninth century. Though there must have been many such, only seven are catalogued in the Book of Leinster,[158] and, of these, only three are known to exist, to which must be added the Voyage of Snedgus and Mac Riagla, which is not mentioned in the catalogue. The "Immramha" may be divided into what, for the sake of convenience, may be called, the one, a pagan, and the other a Christian, group, though in all of them there is a curious overlapping of ecclesiastical and secular elements. In general, the pagan framework has been preserved in the Christian "immramha," and it is only in spirit and influence that the two classes differ. The chief representative of the Christian class is the Voyage of Brendan. To this class belongs also the Voyage of the hÚi Corra, which in some of its parts is one of the earliest of the "Immramha." From the events narrated, it would appear to belong to the middle of the sixth century of our era, though the manuscripts in which it has been preserved are much later. The Voyage of Snedgus and Mac Riagla, like the Brendan story, bears a strong ecclesiastical stamp. It is a poetic description of a voyage of some Irish clerics who were driven by a tempest northwestward to the Shetlands. The piece was probably written originally in verse, which was afterwards replaced by a prose version which appears to belong to the end of the eleventh century. There are, besides, many smaller tales or mere episodes having the character of this group, such as the story of the

[158] *Book of Leinster*, 189c, l.29 ff.

Three Young Clerics and their Cat, the navigation of two Monks of the Order of St. Columba, who had been driven into northern seas and saw strange marvels there,[159] the Voyage or Exile of Breccan, who was shipwrecked off the Irish coast, famous in the literature and legends of Wales. Breccan had fifty boats trading between Ireland and Scotland, and on one of his voyages he was swallowed up in the great whirlpool. His fate was not known until, many years after, Lugaid, the blind poet, came to Bangor. The poet's attendants strayed from the town down to the strand, where they found the bleached skull of a small dog on the beach. They brought it to Lugaid and asked him whose it was. The poet commanded them to put the end of his poet's wand upon the skull, and then he told them that the skull was that of Breccan's little dog, and that Breccan himself with all his ships and people had been drowned in the whirlpool which ever since is known as "Breccan's Cauldron." Of the "Immramha" which are pronouncedly secular, the most remarkable are *Immram Brain maic Febail*, "The Voyage of Bran to the Land of the Living," which, partly by reason of the name of its hero, may have had considerable influence on the development of the Brendan legend —in fact, there are almost identical episodes in both stories— and *Immram Mael Duin*, "The Voyage of Maelduin," which has always been regarded as the type of this class of mythic literature, since it is both the oldest and shows no signs of Christian influence. Its composition probably antedates the raids of the Vikings in Ireland. Both the Maelduin and the Brendan story have so many points in common that the latter would appear to be nothing but the Christian adaptation of the former, or at least to have had its principle source in it.

Thus, in these and other pagan "Immramha," the author of the Voyage of Brendan had a framework ready at hand and elastic enough to allow the inclusion of all sorts of adventures, but it would be difficult to account for his choice of Brendan as his hero, unless the legend was founded on some basis of fact. In the earlier versions of the saga, Brendan set out in search of a place of retirement amid the waves of the ocean. In the later conception of the event, he engaged in a seven years' voyage to

[159] Todd's *Analysis of the Book of Fermoy*, p. 28.

discover the Earthly Paradise, and it is on the strength of this that he has chiefly acquired his reputation of a navigator. The former idea must have had an historical basis: it was only one of a large number of cases of which there can be no uncertainty. Whatever doubt remains concerns only Brendan's reputed voyage to the Land of Promise. He had been preceded in his quest, as we have seen, by his master Barintus, and by Mernoc, and in turn Brendan's example was followed by his favorite disciple, Machutus. This youth, who is also known as Maclovius, or in modern times as Malo, was born between 510 and 520 in Monmouthshire, and, consequently, was a Welshman but, according to Joannes a Bosco he was an Irishman, and according to Sigebert of Gembloux, a Breton. The story of his life is nearly as remarkable as that of his master. He became a disciple of Brendan at Llancarvan, in his native county, and is credited with having been one of the sailor-monks who sailed under the great Irish navigator. In the course of the development of the legend of St. Malo, the rôles of master and disciple have become inverted and in some versions the pupil seems to have usurped the place of his superior and got his celebrity, it would seem, at the expense of St. Brendan. St. Malo also was the hero of a strange Sindbad-like adventure on a whale's back and he is said to have been persecuted by the wicked Britons who, owing to a curse which he had laid upon them, suffered various reverses in battle. Saint Brendan intervened in the quarrel. In the following lines Johannes de Garlandia describes the punishment which Brendan inflicted upon the Britons for having ill-treated his disciple:

> Fracta pace Deus irascitur: Edocet illud
> Prælustri sancto Scotia clara viro.
> Brandanus Eusebio maledixit teste Britannos:
> Iccirco flebant multa pericla pati.
>
> Trans mare se misit et eos prece solvit eorum;
> Et peregre licuit ire venire viro
> Frangentes igitur pacem maledictio franget;
> Gratia nec fractos quae reparabit erit.[160]

Sufficient instances have perhaps been adduced to show that the early medieval Irish were daring and enterprising sailors,

[160] Ussher, *Works*, vi, p. 51–52.

and, what is more, it is now generally held by geographers that it was Irish sailor-monks who effected the earliest voyages northward to the Arctic Circle, of which there is literary mention. The celebrated Irish geographer Dicuil has never been charged with being a fantastic writer. About the year 825 he wrote his famous work *Liber de mensura orbis terrae*, in which we find the following statement: "A certain priest who is worthy of credence has told me that, after a sail of two summer days and one night in a small ship with two thwarts, he landed on one of the islands (Shetlands). There is also another group of small islands (Faroes) divided from one another by narrow sounds, in which for about one hundred years (i. e. from 725 to 825) dwelt hermits from our Ireland. But as from the beginning of the world these islands were always deserted, so now, because of the destruction by the Northmen, there are no anchorites on them, but they are occupied by great flocks of sheep and a great variety of sea birds." Dicuil's statement is confirmed by Icelandic sources, and there is an interesting bit of Irish testimony to the same effect, going back two and a half centuries earlier. In the year 565 St. Columcille happened to be at the court of Brudeus, the converted king of the Picts of Scotland, and, the chief of the Orkneys being present, he told the king that some of his clergy had lately emigrated in the hope of finding a desolate country "in the impenetrable ocean," and he asked Brudeus to recommend those monks to the chief of the Orkneys so that he might take them under his protection.

It is now known positively that Irish anchorites were in the Orkneys as early as the year 579 and that they were driven out of the Shetlands in 620. It is also recorded that, about the year 670, some of them came to the Faroes; nor were they necessarily the first comers, but they may have been going to kinsmen who had settled there we know not how much earlier. But the tranquillity which they sought in those northern regions was of short duration: neither the rigorous climate nor the dull skies could save them from the incursions of the robbers of the sea, which, beginning in 725, finally in 795, drove the Irish settlers to an uninhabited island in the sea of ice which we now know as Iceland. In the year 861, even this place of refuge was discovered by the Northmen. It so happened that a Norwegian

pirate named Nadoddr, while sailing toward the Faroes, was surprised by a storm and driven within sight of a strange land covered with snow.[161] He went ashore, climbed to a tall mountain, looked for a sign of habitation, and returned to Norway, praising the verdure and climate of the land he had visited and which he named Snaeland "Snowland." Nearly a century elapsed and, during the political troubles in the reign of Haraldr Hárfargi "Harald the Hairy" (860–930), the first king of Norway, many Norwegian refugees sailed over to Iceland and forthwith proceeded to inflict upon the Irish settlers there even worse cruelty and oppression than they themselves were fleeing from in Norway. Most of the Irish were slaughtered. Of those who escaped, some no doubt were lost at sea; others found their way back to Ireland, and still others, perchance, reached Greenland and even the shores of the Western Continent. The Book of Leinster[162] and the Martyrology of Donegal[163] mention the massacre of Donnan, abbot of the island of Eig (Egg), slain as he said Mass, and of his fifty companions, whose names are given. It remained, however, for a descendant of those Norwegian invaders, namely, Ari Thorgilsson, the father of Icelandic history, surnamed Fróde "the Learned" (1067–1148), to atone for the wrongs which his forefathers inflicted upon the unfortunate Irish colony, by handing down to posterity the most precious account we possess of the presence of the first Irish navigators in Iceland. In his *Islendíngabók*, and similarly in the Prologue to *Landnáma*, he says, speaking of Iceland at the time the Norwegians reached it: "Thâ voru hêr menn kristner, their er Northmenn kalla papa, en their fôru sîthan a braut, af thvî at their vildu eigi vesa hêr vith heithna menn, ok lêtu eptir boekr I'rskar ok bjöllur ok baglar. Af thvî mâtti skilja at their voru menn Irskir." Christian men were there whom the Northmen call Papae, 'priests,' and they left the place because they did not wish to remain there with pagans, and they left behind them Irish books, bells and croziers, from which one may conclude that they were Irishmen." We are not to conclude from this, however, that all the Irish Icelanders

[161] *Islands Landnámabók*, pt. I, ch. I, p. 5–6.
[162] *Book of Leinster*, 359a.
[163] April 17.

were clerics. According to the *Breve Chronicon Norvegiae*,[164] "Papae vero propter albas vestes, quibus ut clerici induebantur, vocati sunt, unde in teutonica lingua omnes clerici Papae dicuntur," "They are called Papae because they wore white clothes and dressed like priests, wherefore in the Teutonic tongue all priests are called 'Papae.'" This word, which may be simply the Latin word *papa* or from the ecclesiastical use of *popa*, "master," has left its mark to this day on several of the islands in the Shetlands group and thereabouts. The Norwegians also called the Irish Icelanders "Westmen," "men come by sea from the west," that is, from Ireland, which, to the Norwegians, was a western land.

This article is not intended, nor is the present writer competent, to treat, with the fullness it deserves, of the thorniest question which still awaits solution in the intricate St. Brendan problem, if indeed the question can ever be decided without peradventure, namely, the discovery of America by Irish seamen. The literature on the subject is almost without limit and most of it has been printed. This material, however, both published and unpublished, must all be thoroughly sifted again with the closest scrutiny, and new light thrown on the subject from untried angles and with the aid of all the resources of Celtic and Scandinavian philology, geography and the allied sciences. Here it will be sufficient to state briefly a few phases of the problem and to refer to some of the greatest authorities for a more detailed discussion of the subject.

Most of our information concerning the early voyages of the Irish we owe to Icelandic historians, who have never been accused of drawing overmuch on their imagination or of lacking in a good memory, sobriety, and veracity. The twelfth century Danish historian, Saxo Grammaticus,[165] speaking of them, could truthfully say, "Indeed, they count it a delight to learn and to consign to remembrance the history of all nations, deeming it as great a glory to set forth the excellence of others as well as to display

[164] In *Monumenta historica Norwegiae*, pp. 89, 208. L. Duvau, in *Journal des Savants*, 1899, pp. 697 ff.

[165] *Saxonis Grammatici historia danica*, recens. Müller, Copenhagen, 1839, I, pp. 7–8.

their own." There are three Scandinavian documents which are supposed to refer to Irish settlements in America. In the *Landnámabók*, Ari Thorgilsson, referred to above, tells how his great-grandfather, Ari Marsson, a powerful Icelandic chief, who lived toward the end of the tenth century and was descended from Carroll (Irish *Cearbhal*, Icelandic *Kiarvalr*,), king in Dublin, and some other Icelandic adventurers were blown by a storm upon Hvítramannaland, "White Men's Land" (that is, men of white (not red) skin, or because they dressed in white), by some called Íriand it Mikla, "Great Ireland." That country, it has been proved, was situated toward the west, near the sea and near Vínland it Gódha, "Wineland the Good," six weeks' sail, as they said, from Ireland. Ari goes on to relate how his great-grandfather was hospitably received by the Christian settlers in "White Men's Land," was converted and became chief of the colony. This story was first told by a certain Hrafn Hlymreksfari, "Hrafn the Limerick trader," who was a contemporary of Ari Marsson and had lived for a long time in Limerick, Ireland, and had probably heard it from Irish or Icelandic sailors returned from "White Men's Land." Further, Ari Fróde records that his own uncle, Thorkell Gellison, remembered hearing Icelanders say that they had heard Thorfinn, Earl of the Orkneys (whose father Sigurd was killed at Clontarf, in 1014), tell about Ari Marsson, how he had been recognized in "White Men's Land" and settled down there. Now, this celebrated expedition of Ari Marsson must have taken place about the year 983, and Vínland, near which was "Great Ireland" or "White Men's Land," is generally regarded as corresponding roughly to the northern New England States and New Brunswick. It must be admitted, of course, that it does not necessarily follow from the mere fact that the new land was called "Great Ireland" that it had been discovered by the Irish; it is just as possible that it was so called merely because of some imagined resemblance to Ireland. It is interesting to note that an echo of the Scandinavian belief in the existence of "Great Ireland" was heard as far away as Sicily, whither the Normans had carried it with them and where, in the twelfth century, the Arabian geographer Edrisi translated the name of the country into Arabic as "Irlandah-al-Kabirah."

The next Icelandic text which is supposed to refer to pre-Columbian Irish in America is the *Eyrbyggia Saga*, which was composed after the year 1148. It tells how a certain Icelander, Gudhleif Gudhlaugsson, was sailing home from Ireland, whither he had gone on business, when his ship, being west of Ireland, was driven by a great northeast wind southwestwards, until finally it reached a great land where the people seemed to be speaking Irish. After spending some time among them, Gudhleif and his companions returned to Ireland where they passed the winter and then in the spring sailed home to Iceland. The third of these texts is the mythical saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni, also known as the Saga of Eiric the Red, who, while sailing from Vínland to Greenland, which he discovered in 986, was driven by a south wind to Markland (Newfoundland) which, he was told, faced "White Men's Land." Still another possible reference to Irland it Mikla may be seen in the famous work of the Venetian Zeno brothers, though the authenticity of the narrative has been disputed. They engaged in several voyages late in the fourteenth century and on their return they reported rumors of an island far in the west. They landed and met one of the inhabitants who spoke Latin, and from him they learned that the island was called Estotilanda, which may possibly point to "Great Ireland," Labrador, or to some other northern region on the east side of America, or may be merely an error for Escotilanda ("c" and "t" being often indistinguishable in medieval manuscripts) and refer to Ireland or Scotland. It is the "cold Estotiland," of which Milton wrote.[166]

Probably many more Icelandic mariners than those mentioned here were driven by violent winds on to the coast of "Great Ireland," but those are the only ones whose names have been preserved. In view of the frequent sailings off the west coast of Ireland, which is proved by numerous voyages that are recorded as having taken place during a century at least to and from the northern islands, it would be surprising if no Irish ship was blown out of its course in a storm and forced to cross the Atlantic. It need not be objected that such extensive voyages were not feasible in the simple vessels that were in use in those days. Some no doubt were shipwrecked, but that the feat was not impossible

[166] *Paradise Lost*, x, 686.

has been proved by authentic cases of boats no larger than those of the Irish drifting or in some way making the trans-Atlantic voyage. Furthermore, it is known positively that from the year 1003 to the year 1347 sailings between Iceland and Nova Scotia were not uncommon. While the Icelandic texts just quoted may prove nothing or may prove very much, this much is certain, that the Icelanders themselves believed that it was the Irish who first reached the western shores and first introduced Christianity into the New World. Nowhere do they ascribe to themselves the credit or glory of the discovery. Even had they been so disposed, one may conjecture that the claims of the Irish were too notorious to be disputed. And is it not inconsistent that, while nobody hesitates to take the candid word of the Scandinavians when they state that the Irish had preceded them to Iceland, their most positive statements that they had also gained the start of them in reaching America awaken suspicion? While, then, it has not yet been proved, to the entire satisfaction of all unbiased minds, that America was first discovered—and in part colonized—by Irish mariners, it would be unreasonable to reject *en bloc* all the evidence which has been advanced in favor of the reality of the Irish sea voyages, merely because there is so much of the marvelous in them. The early writers, unfortunately perhaps, were not so much concerned with placing on record historical events and geographical discoveries as with providing edifying or amusing stories, and it is precisely the fabulous elements that explain the preservation of these legends. While we ought not to be too positive about asserting or denying the truth of the events narrated, it is not too much to allow that there must have been some framework of fact on which was woven the web of adventure. The possibility, nay, the probability, of Irish forerunners of the Norsemen in America has been admitted by some of the most eminent modern geographers, Alexander von Humboldt, for example, whose opinion deserves to be quoted: "I do not at all share the contempt with which these national traditions have often been treated. On the contrary, I am firmly persuaded that with a little diligence the discovery of facts entirely unknown today will clear up many of these historic problems." It has also been admitted by such distinguished historians as Rafn, and Tarducci, and by the American authority who has made the most

exhaustive study of the question: "It seems likely," says Mr. Babcock, "that America was actually reached by the Irish even before the Norsemen and certainly long before all other Europeans;"[167] and again, "In view of what they (the Irish) really achieved, their known fearlessness and very special impulsion, why should it be incredible that in one thing more they should outstrip others, reaching at some point the mainland of America, though they might not be able to return, and their settlements must die out if reinforcements failed? If their supplanters in Iceland, the Norsemen, had not recorded the presence there of these ecclesiastical Irishmen, it is likely that we should still be debating it today, though it continued so long;"[168] and finally, "One must feel that Irish monks, blinded to everything beyond their absorbing purpose, may very well have been here before any Norsemen; but it seems at present beyond proving."[169]

It is to be feared that the case for the Irish discoverers has been discredited by the extravagant nature of some of the claims advanced in their favor by overzealous partisans. There have been many fantastic notions regarding the Celtic pre-Columbian discoveries of America. The height of absurdity was reached some fifty years ago by a French geographer who maintained that the Irish in America were descended from Brendan or from some one of the obscure Irish precursors of Christopher Columbus, and that there is a close likeness between the Irish language and the Algonquin and other Indian dialects. Some of these would-be philologists have indeed proved to their own satisfaction that the word Algonquin itself is of Irish origin! It will be sufficient merely to mention in passing some of the most fanciful statements which have been put forward in connection with this subject. From time to time we read in the newspapers of the discovery of Celtic remains in the New World. Wherever towers are found, as in Colorado and New Mexico, showing the slightest resemblance to the round towers of Ireland, or heaps of stones suggesting Irish beehive cells, the discoverers at once jump to the conclusion that they must be due to Irish builders. The letters of old navigators, like Cartier, Champlain, and Cortes, have been ransacked for

[167] W. H. Babcock, in *The Glories of Ireland*, p. 37.
[168] Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, p. 27.
[169] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

the purpose, and any superficial analogies which they show to have existed between the rites and customs of the American and Mexican Indians and Christianity have been singularly exaggerated and attributed to the influence of Irish missionaries. The Indians, as is well known, had immemorial traditions of the presence of white men in the country before the coming of the Spaniards, and some of their tribes were taught that their ancestors crossed a great lake full of islands, very much as Irish sailors may have crossed the Atlantic by using the northern islands and Greenland as stepping stones. Some writers have held that the white Esquimaux are descendants of early Irish settlers! The civilization that existed in Mexico from the seventh century onward has been said to have been founded on the laws and customs of the ancient Irish, and some have even gone so far as to assert that Quetzalcohuatl, the more or less mythical Mexican hero-god or reformer, was one of these Irish legislators, or, who knows, perhaps even St. Brendan himself! But the Welsh were the greatest sinners, in the long yarns they spun of Indians speaking Welsh or Irish.[170] This was chiefly in the days when celtomania was rampant. For example, at the time of Sir Walter Raleigh, reports spread in England that the English colonists in Virginia were surprised to be saluted in Welsh by the redskins. Then there is the well-known case of the Rev. Morgan Jones, who was made prisoner in Virginia in 1669 by the Tuscaroras, who, he discovered, spoke a language resembling his own. Jones afterwards preached to the Indians and became their adviser in difficult matters. An almost identical story is told by Charles Beatty in his *Journal of Two Months' Tour* (1768), how a party of Carolina savages were about to scalp him, but they spared his life when he happened to exclaim a few words in Gaelic. Captain Stewart believed that he had come across Celtic books among the Natchitoches on the Red River,[171] and the Carolinians were said to possess a copy of the Bible in Irish. All these questions were for a long time a hotly controverted point of Welsh history. A few years ago a rusty knife blade, bearing the date 1257, and heavily incrusted with sulphur, was dug up

[170] *Dictionnaire des Sciences Naturelles*, t. xxi, p. 392; *Revue Encyclopédique*, No. 4, p. 162.

[171] HUMBOLDT, *Examen crit. de l'histoire de la Géogr. du nouv. Cont.*, 1837, ii, 144

from an Indian mound near Sulphur Springs, Ark. The finder, Mr. Thomas W. Barton, also claimed to have collected legends among the Creek Indians of the existence of a colony of white men among them some 600 years before, and that the Creek language has preserved many Welsh words which have been handed down from generation to generation. According to Mr. Barton, some boat-loads of Welshmen must have been blown across the Atlantic into the Gulf of Mexico, where they entered the Mississippi, went up the Arkansas, and became assimilated with the Indian tribes of New Mexico and Arizona. While all such stories as those just cited must of course be received with the utmost caution, the Welsh really had a naval hero whose fame bid fair for a time to rival that of St. Brendan himself. It is an historic fact that in the year 1170 a dispute arose as to the succession to the throne of Owain, king of Gwynedd, North Wales. One of the princes, Madoc, disgusted with the civil wars, is said to have decided to leave his people and to set sail due west in the ocean. After a while he returned home, and, as a result of the glowing account which he gave of the land he had visited, he had no difficulty in persuading a large number of his countrymen to accompany him on another voyage. This event is referred to in the Welsh Triads[172] (transcribed probably in the twelfth century) which, enumerating the "three complete losses suffered by the Isle of Britain," mention "Madawg ab Owain Gwynedd," who put to sea in ten ships with three hundred men, "ac ni wyddys i ba le ydd aethant," "and arrived, no one knows where." It is also narrated by Caradog of Llancarvan in the *History of Cambria*, and by divers other historians.[173] In the margin of the St. Gall manuscript[174] is the following gloss in Old Irish: "Do inis maddoc dún. i. meisse 7 coirbbre," which may mean "we belong to the island of Madoc, I and Cairbre," and refer to an Inis Madoc (Island of Madoc), in the lake of Templeport, County Cavan, Ireland, or to a St. Maiddoc, or Mogue, of Ferns, who was born

[172] Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales, p. 401; J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, 2 ed., ii, pp. 301–302.

[173] Hakluyt's *Voyages*, iii (1600), p. 1; *The History of Cambria, now called Wales*, . . . trans. by Humphrey Lloyd, . . . corrected . . . by David Powel, London 1584, pp. 227–229.

[174] Page 194a.

near that lake.[175] Robert Southey made *The Voyage of Madoc* into an epic, now almost forgotten, and Thomas Stephens, the historian of Welsh literature, gathered the material into an exceedingly interesting though imaginative volume entitled, *Madoc, An Essay on the Discovery of America by Madoc.*[176] As late as the year 1792 a zealous Welshman named John Evans undertook a voyage to America to visit the Welsh colony which was believed to have been left here by Madoc. After traveling far and wide, exhausting his funds, being taken for a spy, thrown into prison and suffering many other hardships, he abandoned the quest and died of fever.

But, to return to St. Brendan. There does not seem to be any valid reason for doubting his existence, nor for doubting that he did make the voyage or voyages attributed to him. We shall probably never know positively what real journey is hidden under the accretions which grew in extravagance with each passing generation, or the exact time at which it was performed. Brendan's first sail would appear to be limited to the islands off the west coast of Ireland, perhaps extending to the Orkneys, the Hebrides, or the Faroes; the latter is unquestionably referred to in the description of the Sheep Island. His second voyage indicates a more extended navigation over a vast expanse of ocean in a more southerly direction, beating about from one island to another in the archipelagoes of the eastern Atlantic. In the course of time the accounts of the two voyages became contaminated, and while we find that some of the versions represent Brendan as sailing west, as is rather to be expected, others read "contra solticium estivale," "encontre midi," or "vers orient," eastward and southward. For the same reason, we find in one and the same text mention of extreme cold and floating structures which may be icebergs, and other phenomena belonging to high latitudes, together with luxuriant herbage and foliage, singing birds and other features characteristic of a temperate or subtropical climate. Consequently it is almost impossible to trace with any confidence on a map the course followed by Brendan. Yet some of the geographic details are curiously accurate, and all the evidence

[175] J. C. Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, xiii; O'Curry, *Manuscript Materials*, p. 27. Joyce, *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, I, p. 489. E. Hogan, *Onomasticon Gadelicum*.

[176] London and New York, 1894; *Revue Celtique*, xv, 124.

seems to combine to indicate that his first stopping place was most probably the Azores, and then the Madeiras. Curiously enough, one island of the latter group is called Las Desertas, and another bears the name Porto Santo, which can be traced back at least to the middle of the fourteenth century, if that has any bearing on the question. It is significant also that some of the Madeira Islands formerly bore birds' names; the chart of Gabriel de Valesque, 1439, has drafted an island, apparently in the Azores, called Ylha de Oesels. These may be souvenirs of the Bird Islands, which play such a prominent part in the Voyage. Brendan's next haven was in the Canaries, which were also celebrated for their sheep and birds. The Island of Fire has been identified with Hecla, but it is much more likely that by it is meant Teneriffe, which may have been at that time in eruption. Brendan next seems to have made a considerable sojourn in and near Cape Verde Island, and may even have set foot on Africa near Mount Atlas, where he came to a great river, though this latter excursion is altogether unlikely. Thus far it seems only reasonable to follow him on his voyage. But it is not without the bounds of possibility that on his way home his boat was caught by favorable trade winds and swept into an ocean current. The southern branch of the Gulf Stream passes around Maderia and the Canaries, and its extension is the North Equatorial Current which empties into the sea of the Antilles and the Bahamas. This would carry him necessarily in a great sweep southwest and west to the coast of North or South America.

However gratuitous the attempts which have been made to plot the course of Brendan's voyage, there is no doubt that the spread of the story had a considerable effect on the development of cartography and geographical knowledge. Even though conjecture was given a wide latitude by the early map makers, there seems to have been, for a time at least, a sort of general agreement as to the location of St. Brendan's Islands or, later, Island. Their earliest appearance, thus far recorded, is on the so-called Hereford (England) map which was made by Richard de Haldingham about the year 1275 or 1280, that is, shortly after the discovery of the Canaries.[177] There they are put down with full confidence opposite Mount Atlas, in the location of the

[177] WESTROPP, p. 240 ff.

Canaries, the identification being, no doubt, due, to some extent at least, to the influence of the ancient geographers who placed the Fortunate Islands in that region. The reading on the Hereford map is "Fortunate Insulae sex sunt Insulae Sct Brandani," "The Fortunate Islands. There are six. The Islands of St. Brendan." The Hereford map was not based on actual discovery, however. The first map drawn along the lines of what may be called serious geography is by Angelinus Dulcert, of Majorca, which dates from 1339. It marks the Islands of St. Brendan distinctly as "Insulle Sa Brandani." The Parmesan map of the Pizzigani Brothers, which dates from 1367,[178] agrees with the Dulcert map in identifying and naming the islands of St. Brendan. It contains not only the legend "Isola Marieniga, isola Canaris, isola Brandani," but also a figure in a monastic garb, intended perhaps to represent St. Brandan himself, bending over the islands as if bestowing a blessing upon them. In general, the maps of the fifteenth century, such as that of the Genoese Battista Beccario, the Weimar map, the maps of the Venetian Graziolo Benincasa, of Fra Mauro and of the Venetian Andrea Bianco, all identified St. Brendan's Island with Madeira, less often with the Canaries. The map of Jacobus de Zireldis (1443), however, places these islands north of Ireland, while the portolano in St. Mark's, Venice, shows an island not far from the west coast of Ireland with the legend "La Montagna de Sto Brandan." Toward the end of the fifteenth century we begin to see the Brendan island moving toward the west and coming nearer to the Equator. At first, the words "St. Brendan's Fortunate Islands" lie between the Madeiras and the Azores and may apply to either group or to both. In Bianco's second great map of 1448, the wandering island is westward of the Azorean archipelago, the largest island of which, corresponding to what is called Terceira today, bears the title "Ya fortunat de sa beati blandan." In the same year as the discovery of America appeared Martin Beheim's (Bohemus) celebrated globe, at Nuremberg, on which St. Brendan's Island is placed still farther west and south in midocean, lying between Africa and South America and near the Equator. It seems to be confused with the Antilles and bears the following legend in German: "Nach Christi Gepurt 565 Jar kam Sandbrendan mit

[178] JOMARD, *Les Monumentsde la Géographie.*

sein Schiff auf di se Insel, der doselbst vil wonders besah und der über siben Jar darnach wider in sein Landt zog." "In the year 565 after Christ's birth, Saint Brendan, with his ship, came to this Island. He there saw many wonders, and after seven years he came again to his own land." On the map which the Florentine Paolo Toscanelli made for Christopher Columbus and which served as the great discoverer's sailing directions on his first voyage, the island of St. Brendan occupies its customary place southwest of the Canaries and Madeira. In the sixteenth century, as the seas came to be better known, map makers were forced to locate St. Brendan's Island more and more out of the range of navigation. Its general trend was now northward and westward, though the Englishman, Thomas Nicholls, still identified it with Madeira. On the magnificent map painted on parchment, by order of Henry II of England, it is located between Iceland and Newfoundland. About the same position is assigned to it in the so-called Sebastian Cabot map of 1544, which places it in the latitude of the Straits of Belle Isle in the wastes of the North Atlantic. In Ortelius's map (1560), it is brought somewhat nearer to Iceland, west of and in the latitude of Ireland. Similarly in Mercator's map of 1569. In the map by Mathias Quad, of Cologne (1608), it is shown well out to sea between Ireland and North America. Even in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries St. Brendan's Island still existed on paper; for example, in a French geographical chart of as late a date as 1755, in which it is placed 5° west of the island of Ferro, in latitude 29° N., and, finally, it took refuge near the Mascarene Islands in the Indian Ocean.

But though St. Brendan's Island constantly shifted position and finally disappeared altogether from geographies, a belief in its existence was confidently clung to during the entire Middle Ages and even after the oceans had been traversed and known in all their parts and the American coast had been discovered from Labrador to Tierra del Fuego. It was supposed to be an isle of supernatural beauty and wonders, and occupied by a saintly Christian people; an echo of this belief is expressed by Camões:

> Passadas tenho ja as Canárias ilhas,
> Que tiveram por nome Fortunadas.[179]

[179] *Os Lusiadas*, Cant. v, estan. viii.

Having left the Canarian Islands far behind—
Named of yore "The Fortunate."

In his *Imago Mundi*[180] (*Image du Monde*), written in 1130, Honoré d'Autun describes the paradisiacal island which is found only by chance and sought for in vain. He calls it "Quaedam Oceani insula dicta Perdita," and adds, "ad hanc fertur Brandanus venisse":

Une autre ille est que on ne puet
Veoir comme on aler se veult,
Et aucune fois est veue:
Si l'appelle on l'Ille Perdue;
Celle ille trouva sains Brandains,
Qui mainte merveille vit ains.

Brendan's Island is also referred to in the *Weltchronik* of Rudolf von Hohen-ems (middle of the thirteenth century), who thus describes it: "Ein îsel heizet Perditâ—das irdensche Paradîs," in which all one's desires are fulfilled:

Der vil wunderlîche gotes degen
Der abbet sante Brandân
Kam drin—als ich vernomen hân—
Übr manic hundert jâre sider
Dâ sich liez ûf die erde nider
Un Nôê diu grôze diet.[181]

The Abbot, St. Brendan, God's very wonderful knight, came thither—as I have heard—many hundred years ago, when Noah with his numerous folk let himself down on earth.

While engaged in missionary work in Guatemala, Friar Alfonso de Espinosa, a member of the Order of Preachers, heard of the Holy Image of our Lady of Candelaria, in Teneriffe. He afterwards spent many years on that island, and in his book *Del Origen y Milagros de la Santa Imagen de Nuestra Señora de Candelaria*—an interesting work, though of uncertain trustworthiness, published in 1594—he describes how the venerated image had been discovered on the seashore, and quotes a tradition of the few surviving members of the Guanches, or old native population of Teneriffe, to the effect that a party of sixty strangers with a bishop among them had long ago landed in the north of the island, at a place called "The Gathering Place of the Mighty One."

[180] I, 36; *Patrologia Lat.*, clxxii, p. 133.
[181] *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, xiii, p. 202.

Then, on the strength of a certain "Kalanda," he continues: "Fortunatae insulae sex numero—in Oceano Atlantico ab occasu Africae adjacentes. Hic Blandanus (*sic*) magnae abstinentiae uir ex Scotia pater trium millium monachorum cum beato Maclonio (*i.e.*, Maclouio) has insulas septennis perlustravit." These things, Espinosa says, were done during the reign of the Emperor Justinian.

Not only did St. Brendan's Island find a place on the maps of Europe and in literary works for at least 400 years, but it was a geographical puzzle which many adventurous souls sought to riddle with almost as much persistence as the passage to the Indies itself. Raoul Glaber declares that people were convinced that it was on St. Brendan's Island that Don Rodrigo, the last Gothic king of Spain, took refuge after his defeat by the Saracens at Jeres de la Frontera (A. D. 711), and that he still, like another Arthur, abides there. At a later period the Spanish believed that it was to that same island that the Portuguese king, Sebastian, retired after his defeat and death at the battle of Alcazar Quivir (1578). When, in 1519, Emmanuel of Portugal signed the Treaty of Evora, he relinquished Portugal's claims to the Canaries and also expressly included in the cession the Island of St. Brendan, which had not yet been discovered. Shortly afterwards, in 1526, two adventurers, Fernando de Troya and Fernando Alvarez, equipped an expedition and set out in search of the mysterious island. Toward the end of that century, in 1589, the Dutch navigator, Van Linschoten, on his return from the Indies, reported that the Canary Islanders firmly believed in the existence of the Isle of San Borondon about one hundred leagues to the right of the Canaries. In the year 1570, inquiries were instituted on Palma and elsewhere in the Canaries, to which pilots and other credible witnesses were summoned. Some of them swore that they had not only seen the mysterious island, but had even set foot on it. Though all agreed as to its general position and outline, some thought it was 100 leagues away, others 50, others only 10. As a result of the inquiry, a flotilla was fitted out and despatched to discover the illusive island. But the difficulty was not to see it but to find it. However clearly it was discerned from a distance, when the sailors came near, a tempest or mist always arose to blot it out and snatch it from their grasp, so that

the saying arose concerning the island, "Quando se busca no se halla," "When it is sought for it is not found." Yet in spite of all these vain efforts, new expeditions continued to go out in search of it. There was one in 1604 under Lorenzo Pinedo and G. Perez de Acosta, and another in 1633. Well might it be said of the Canarians, "superstitiosi enim ultra modum quam dici potest fuerunt populi canarienses.[182] The Jesuit, Don Joseph de Viera y Clavijo, in his very interesting book, *Noticias de la historia general de las islas de Canaria*,[183] in which he examined thoroughly the question of St. Brendan's Island, was forced to admit that there never was a more difficult paradox in the science of geography; since, on the one hand, to affirm its existence was to go counter to all reason, science and criticism; while, on the other, to deny it, was to destroy all faith in tradition and experience, and to suppose that all the trustworthy witnesses who had testified to having seeing it were out of their senses. He left the matter unsettled and concluded by saying that "the impartial reader is at liberty to judge the matter for himself and to take whatever side he pleases, if the matter be one in which there is any certainty to take." Even after the appearance of the learned Jesuit's book, voyages to discover the island continued to be made. In 1721, at the instance of the Governor of the Canaries, a fleet was fitted out on a grand scale and entrusted to Don Gaspar Dominguez, a man of probity and talent. Washington Irving, in his *Life of Columbus*,[184] relying on Nuñez, Viera and other early Spanish authors, describes the excursion as follows: "As this was an expedition of solemn and mysterious import, he (Don Gaspar) had two holy friars as apostolical chaplains. They made sail from the island of Teneriffe, toward the end of October, leaving the populace in an indescribable state of anxious curiosity. The ship, however, returned from its cruise as unsuccessful as all its predecessors." As late as the year 1759, nearly forty persons on one of the Canaries declared that they saw the mysterious island together. By that time people had come to the conclusion that it had a miraculous or diabolic power of appearing and disappearing. It was seen only at intervals, and not only in

[182] *Nova Typis*, etc., (vd. note 113).
[183] Book ii, ch. 28.
[184] Vol. i.

stormy weather but even on the brightest summer days when the atmosphere was most pure and clear. The phenomenal island was, no doubt, an optical illusion, one of those mirages which are common at sea when the image of a real coast is reflected in the clouds; but we are not able to say if it has been seen in our own days.

As early as the twelfth century doubts were expressed and protests raised against the Brendan legend. Giraldus Cambrensis[185] had a fling at it when he wrote "these things might truly be thought incredible except that, in those who believe, all things are possible." In the thirteenth century, the learned Dominican, Vincent de Beauvais (Vincentius Bellovacensis) in his *Speculum Historiale*,[186] was even more severe: "hujus autem peregrinationis historiam," he wrote, "propter apocrypha quaedam deliramenta quae in ea videntur contineri penitus ab opere isto resecamus." Vincent was not consistent, however, for he gave place in his *Mirror* to the story of St. Machutus, which is not less apocryphal than that of St. Brendan. Other writers also considered the whole story fabulous and employed almost the very words as those just quoted regarding it: "vana fictaque vel apocrypha deliramenta, praesertim de septennali ejus navigatione ad insulas prius incognitas," qualifying it as "silly, lying, apocryphal ravings." To judge by the satirical references to St. Brendan which are found in medieval Latin literature, it is not at all unlikely that they are largely the voice of monastic jealousies which grew out of the preposterous claims which Irish monks on the continent were accused of making for their famous countryman. A lively account of their braggadocio was written, between 1281 and 1283, by Nicolai de Bibera Erfordensis. Speaking of the Irish monks in the monastery of St. Jacobus Scotorum in Erfordia (Erfurt), Germany, he says,

> Sunt et ibi Scoti, qui cum fuerint bene poti,
> Sanctum Brandanum proclamant esse decanum
> In grege Sanctorum, vel quod deus ipse deorum
> Brandani frater sit et ejus Brigida mater.
> Sed vulgus miserum non credens hoc esse verum
> Estimat insanos Scotos simul atque profanos

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[185] *Top. Hib.*, Dist., ii, ch. xlii.

[186] Book xxi, ch. 81.

Talia dicentes. Accedant scire volentes,
Ex evangelico textu probo quod tibi dico:
Qui non dilinquit, sed qui perfecerit, inquit,
Velle mei patris, illum voco nomine fratris.
Immo meus frater est et soror et mea mater.
Sic sancti quique, qui regnant hic et ubique,
Et possunt fratres simul et Christi fore matres,
Si non ignores, et possunt esse sorores.
Sic Brigidam, Brandanum dicite patrem
Nam perfecerunt, quecunque deo placuerunt.

There are some Irishmen there who, when they have drunk too much, proclaim that St. Brendan is the dean of the flock of saints and that the God of gods is the brother of Brendan, and that Brigit is His mother. But the poor people do not believe this to be true: They look on the Irish making such statements as insane and at the same time profane. Let those who desire to know approach: I will prove what I say by a text from the Gospel (here follows a gloss: "quicunque fecerit voluntatem patris mei ipse meus frater, soror, mater," quoting inaccurately from Matt. xii, 50), to wit, "He that sins not, but does the will of my Father, Him I will call brother." Nay, he is my brother, and sister and mother. So, when one thinks of it, the saints, whether they reign here or elsewhere, can be both brother and mother and sister of Christ, like Brigit and Brendan, because they lived according to the will of God.

According to Giraldus Cambrensis,[187] the saints of Ireland were not only exalted by their merits above those of other lands, but, he adds, they appear to have been of a vengeful temper. An instance of this vindictiveness is seen in the following strange story: One day Brendan had commanded a brother to guard a ship which was drawn up on the beach, and, when the tide rose, another brother who was in the ship was in danger of being drowned, and the first brother went to his rescue. Brandan coming up rebuked him and said, "Dost thou love him more than me? Go then and die in his place." Thereupon the brother saved his comrade and was drowned in doing so. The case was tried by the Synod of holy men, who referred it for decision to Brendan's foster mother, Ita, who imposed upon the criminal a sea voyage as a penance, and it was in fulfillment thereof that Brendan went to Britain. In later times St. Brendan came to be regarded as particularly hostile to the Scandinavian invaders, perhaps because he disliked them as rival navigators!

[187] *Top. Hib.*, Dist., ii, ch. iv.

In *Three Fragments of Irish Annals*, it is chronicled under 863 A. D., that Earl Tomar, a fierce, rough, cruel man of the Norsemen, came from Limerick to Clúain–fearta–Brenainn (Brendan's favorite establishment at Clonfert), expecting to find great prey in that church, but word of his coming had gone out a short time before him. Some of the monks whom he found on the floor of the church and in the churchyard he put to death. But in that same year Tomar died of madness, and at his last moments he saw in a vision Brendan killing him.

The bitterest attack that ever was launched on the Brendan legend was made by an unknown poet, in a metrical life of St. Brendan in Latin, preserved in an eleventh or twelfth century manuscript at Lincoln College, Oxford.[188] It begins:

Hic poeta, qui Brendani uitam uult describere,
Graue crimen uiro Dei uidetur inurere.

This poet who would fain write the life of Brendan, seems to attach a serious crime to the man of God.

The author exclaims against the folly of believing that St. Brendan forsook the 3,000 monks who were intrusted to his care and for whose guidance he would have to render an account to God, and that,

Currens semper ad occasum uelo, uento, remige,

Coursing ever towards the west, under sail, with the wind, and by oar, he sought in the sea what is to be found only in heaven.

O rem miram, risu dignam, et plenam stulticie!
Fabulosum est, non uerum, neque ueri simile.

Oh, how strange, laughable, and full of folly—A fable it is, not true nor even truthlike.

He objects to the demons singing praises to the Creator which, he holds, is contrary to Catholic doctrine. Then with a burst of indignation he exclaims:

O quam macra et infelix spes est Hibernensium,
Quibus post hanc vitam tota merces operum
Terra nuda et lapilli atque flores arborum!

How lean and miserable is the hope of the Irish, whose only reward for their labors after this life is a bare land, with stones and the flowers of trees.

[188] PLUMMER, *o. c.*, ii, 293–294.

On the other hand, very high praise is bestowed upon Brendan, and the reading of his Voyage is warmly commended, in another Latin poem which consists chiefly of a translation of the well-known Anglo-Norman version. It contains 311 rhymed quatrains in catalectic tetrameter, and was written, it would appear, for a certain Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln.[189] It begins:

Vana vanis garriat pagina pagana,
Greges agros prelia vox Virgiliana,
Mundi dilectoribus placeant mundana;
Alexandri studia pia sint, non vana.

To the vain, the pagan page chatters its emptiness; the voice of Virgil sings of flocks and farms and wars. Let those who find pleasure in this world, delight in worldly things. But let Alexander's reading be of holy, not of empty, subjects.

The poem contains some eloquent passages, as the description of the whale and the account of the meeting with Judas, who, enjoying a short respite due to Brendan's intercession, exclaims "Horror hic pro requie mihi reputatur." The author borrows lavishly from classical mythology and delights in verbal conceits, for example, in this description of Brendan's monastic regime:

Abbas jam de monacho, mater fit in patre.
Patris ei gravitas, amor dignus matre.
Patrem matre temperans imperabat grate.
Sic qui fratres regitis patres imperate!

These two Latin poems may be taken as representing the two extreme views which have been held and are still held concerning the Brendan legend. It remains to say a word about the influence which the legend exercised over two great Italians. For the first of these it will be sufficient to quote the words of the foremost living American Dantean scholar: "Among the numerous medieval accounts of the terrestrial paradise which Dante may have used in the composition of his Purgatorio, there is one with which he seems to have been particularly familiar. Between the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* and the *Commedia* there are resemblances so clear as almost to exclude the possibility of chance coincidence or indirect influence.[190] Now it is important

[189] Ernst Martin, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum u. d. Litt.*, Vol. xvi, Neue Folge, iv, 1873, p. 289 fl; Moran, *Acta S. Brendani*, pp. 43–84.

[190] C. H. Grandgent, *Cato and Elijah*, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, xvii, 1902, pp. 82–83.

to remember that it was from Dante that Christopher Columbus may have got the first idea of his voyage to the Indies. He must also have been acquainted with the writings of his townsman, Jacobus de Voragine (obit. 1298) who was Bishop of Genoa and who in his *Golden Legend* gave special prominence to the Promised Land of St. Brendan. For at least two centuries Brendan's name and expedition were very popular in Genoa, a maritime city, and we can easily believe that Columbus, who was blind to everything but his great mission and studied with avidity all the theories, stories and conjectures that were current in his day, in fact every shred of information that pertained to the sea and especially to the Atlantic, could not fail to be familiar with the legend of St. Brendan. When he came to live in Portugal and married into a sea-going family, the chief topic of discussion was naturally voyages and discoveries, and among these the voyage of St. Brendan held the place of prominence. His son Fernando writes of his father, "gli piaceva molto ragionare con coloro che per quanta navigavano,"[191] and, speaking of the inducements which led him to undertake the voyage, Fernando mentions "las (sc. islas) de San Brendan, de que se cuentan cosas admirables,"[192] "the islands of St. Brendan, of which wonderful things are told." Thus the legend must have had a decided influence on the mind of Columbus, and helped to lighten the terrors of the unknown ocean. Under date of Jueves 9 de Agosto 1492, when on board ship on his first voyage of discovery, he wrote that, when he was in Portugal, in 1484, he had seen men who had come from Madeira to ask for a caravel to go in search of the land that continued to appear every year.[193] "I am convinced," he wrote, "that therein (namely, the Island of St. Brendan) must be the earthly paradise to which no one can come except by the will of God." Could it be that it was due to the influence of Brendan that Columbus took with him in the *Santa Maria* at least one Irish sailor, "Gulliermo Ires natural de Galuy en Irlanda?" It is worthy of mention that this William the Irishman was a native of Galway, Ireland's most flourishing

[191] Ch. V.

[192] *Historia del Almirante Don Cristobal Colon*, por Fernando Colon, su hijo, Madrid, 1892, i, 44.

[193] NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de los viajes y descubrimientos*, tom. i, Madrid, 1835.

seaport facing the Atlantic, and it is not too much to suppose that he was chosen as especially familiar with all Irish sea-lore and especially with the legend of the Voyage of St. Brendan. At the very least, then, one may say that, even if Saint Brendan was not the discoverer himself, which has not been proved, his story was one of the moving causes that led Columbus to the discovery of the New World.

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THE SACRED CONGREGATION DE PROPAGANDA FIDE (1622-1922)

The establishment of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide was decided upon by the Holy See at the flood-tide of that remarkable movement of the latter half of the sixteenth, and the first quarter of the seventeenth centuries, which goes by the inaccurate name of *Counter-Reformation*. The Council of Trent (1545–1563) had succeeded beyond the sanguine expectations of the day, in spite of great opposition, not only in determining for all time to come the doctrinal basis of the faith, but in formulating the first satisfactory method of correcting the abuses which had arisen within the Fold of Christ. "Never had a Council met under more alarming conditions; never had a Council been confronted with more serious obstacles, and never did a Council confer a greater service on the Christian world than did the nineteenth ecumenical Council held at Trent."[1]

The Council of Trent removed the mask of hypocrisy from those who had joined in the Lutheran clamor for a reformation of the Church *in capite et membris*, and it defined without respect of persons the limits within which an orderly, chaste, prudent, and thoroughly orthodox reform could be carried out. Under the Providence of God, the Church has been blessed from that epoch down to our own with Popes who have never wavered from the spirit of Trent.

When the true reform did come, it came quickly, almost spontaneously; and it came efficaciously. From the day of its official confirmation by Pius IV on January 26, 1564, down to the latest reform in the organization of ecclesiastical law, begun by Pius X and brought to a successful conclusion by the present Holy Father, Benedict XV,[2] the vivifying stimulus of Trent has never weakened.

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[1] MacCaffrey, *History of the Catholic Church from the Renaissance to the French Revolution*, Vol. i, p. 199. London, 1915.

[2] By the *Providentissima Mater Ecclesia*, Pentecost, 1917. For a general survey of the New Code of Canon Law, cf. *The New Canon Law in its Practical Aspects*, published by the Dolphin Press, Philadelphia, 1918.

The reforms effected within the first fifty years after the Council almost surpass belief. They begin with the Roman Seminary for the education of the priests of Rome (1566); the erection of national colleges at Rome and the reorganization of those erected before the close of the Council; the foundation of over twenty Colleges in various parts of Europe for the education of English, Irish and Scotch youth;[3] the beginning of Nunciatures in various parts of Europe;[4] the publication of new editions of the Roman martyrology, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the Breviary, the Missal, the Ceremonial and the Pontifical; the Gregorian reform in the Calendar (1582), and the sweeping reform in the papal curia by Pope Sixtus V, by the Apostolic Letter of January 22, 1587, *Immensa Aeterni Dei*, which placed the entire administration of the Church under the care of fifteen Congregations, in order that ecclesiastical affairs of all kinds might be conducted henceforth with despatch and accuracy. The Counter-Reformation has also to its credit the founding of the Company of Jesus by St. Ignatius, which received official approval on September 27, 1540[5]; and the unparalleled missionary success of the Jesuits and the older religious orders from that time down to the establishment of Propaganda Fide gave to the founders of the Sacred Congregation a trained body of workers, a field in which fresh discoveries were being constantly made, and a plan of action which had stood the test of almost a century.

The creation of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide by the Bull *Inscrutabili* of June 22, 1622, may be accepted as the completion of the formative stage of the Counter-Reformation. It was the last of the greater Congregations to be established by the Holy See, and it soon outshone all the others by the extraordinary extent of its powers and its jurisdiction. It resembled the other Congregations in its organization, but it differed entirely from them in the range of its authority[6]. From the

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[3] GUILDAY, *Les fondations réligieuses anglaises*, in the *Annuaire de l'Universié. de Louvain*, 1912.

[4] Cf. PIEPER, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der ständigen Nuntiaturen*. Freiburg, 1894.

[5] BRUCKER, *La Compagnie de Jésus*, p. 17. Paris, 1919.

[6] BOURRET, *La réorganization des sacrées congrégations tribunaux et offices administratifs de la cour romaine*, p. 249. Montpellier, 1908.

beginning of its existence, the object of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide was definitely understood: it was to regain the faithful in all those parts of the world where Protestantism had been established, and to bring the light of the true faith to heathen lands. Botta has described its object as follows:[7]

> Suo principale fine è la propagazione della fide cattolica in tutte le parti del mondo; ma l'opera sua non era totalmente ristretta a questa parte che non mirasse anche a diffondere le lettere, le scienze e la civiltà fra genti ignare, barbare e selvagge; che anzi una cosa aiutava l'altra; perchè la fede serviva d'introduzione alla civiltà, e questa a quella.

To reconquer by spiritual arms, by prayers and good works, by preaching and catechising, the countries that had been lost to the Church in the débâcle of the sixteenth century, and to organize into an efficient corps the numerous missionary enterprises for the diffusion of the Gospel in pagan lands, were the two distinct objects which soon ranked Propaganda Fide only a little less in dignity than the Universal Church.

The genesis of this ideal is not known with certainty. Benigni holds that it was the result of a slow evolution passing through two distinct periods, one creative and the other constitutive.[8] The creative period ends with the *Inscrutabili Divinae* of June 22, 1622. That the reconquest of those parts of the Church which had been lost through the rise and prosperity of Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Anglicanism, had been a dominant factor in the deliberations at Trent is certain. Shortly after its cloture in 1563, Pope Gregory XIII (1572–1585) created a cardinalitial Commission *de propaganda fide*, consisting of Cardinals Caraffa, Medici, and Santorio. The victory at Lepanto (1571) had naturally turned the minds of all lovers of the Cross towards the East, for the spirit of the Crusades had not died, and during the years this Commission held its sessions, churchmen were especially interested in following up the naval success at Lepanto with a spiritual victory: union with Rome of the Oriental Christians. It is to this spirit that we owe the celebrated Union of Brest (1598). The Gregorian Commission was hindered in its plans by the rapid succession of the four short pontificates which followed Gregory's death in 1585, so that it cannot be said

[7] *Storia d'Italia, dal 1779 al 1814*, lib 24, tom 6, p. 117.

[8] Article, *Propaganda* in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. xii, p. 456.

that the Sacred Congregation was an outgrowth of the work of this former body of Cardinals. Some writers see the origin of the Congregation in a remarkable folio volume published at Antwerp in 1613, by the Carmelite Thomas à Jesus, entitled *De procuranda salute omnium gentium, schismaticorum, haereticorum, Judaeorum, sarracenorum caeterorumque infidelium*, in twelve books.[9] The Sacred Congregation may well be the result of many projects, similar in scope or identical in design with which the Holy See had become familiar shortly after the close of the sessions at Trent. It may not be unfair to these projects to single out the design of Dr. Vendeville, the friend of Allen and of the founders of the English College at Douay. In 1567, Vendeville went with Allen and Morgan Philips to Rome, where he intended placing before Pius V the plan of a congregation for the redemption of slaves in the Barbary States: "ut suas quasdam de infidelibus ad Christum convertendis cogitationes cum Pio Quinto Summo Pontifice communicaret."[10]

After its creation in 1622, the Congregation de Propaganda Fide began that long and honorable life of three centuries which will be rounded out within the next eighteen months. During those three centuries of remarkable success in spreading the light of the Gospel over every part of the world, only one definite change has been made in the extent of its jurisdiction, namely, that by Pius X, in the Constitution *Sapienti Consilio*, of June 29, 1908, when the United States and several other countries were withdrawn from its regimen. The history of the Congregation can be divided into three parts: (1) from the cardinalitial Commission *de propaganda fide* under Gregory XIII down to 1622; (2) from the founding of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide in 1622 down to the change effected by Pius X, in 1908; and (3) from 1908 down to the present.

[9] The volume is rather rare. We take from the British Museum copy the following paragraph on America (fol. 3): "Denique America, quam orbis quartam partem Geographi constituunt, in extrema calamitate versatur. Nam et quod ad fidem christianam pertinet, parum culta est: et in europeis hominibus Indi avaritiae potius quam Christiani zeli exempla conspiciunt, quam Orientalibus Indiis quamplurimae provinciae, quibus Evangelium nondum delatum est."

[10] KNOX, *Allen*, p. 6, London, 1882. Out of this desire came the first impetus towards the English College at Douay (1569), *ibid.*, p. 7. Cf. BELLESHEIM, *Wilhelm Kardinal Allen*, p. 24, Mainz, 1885; the subject is also discussed by DODD-TIERNEY, *Church History of England*, Vol. ii, p. 158. London, 1889.

It is not our purpose in this preliminary sketch to enter into the history of Propaganda, for that is to be written by a group of historical students chosen by His Eminence Cardinal Van Rossum, Cardinal Prefect, and by the Secretary, Monsignore Camillus Laurenti, and to be published as a tercentenary volume in 1922. The present writer has been asked to contribute the chapter on the United States under the general title: *L'opera della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide nell'evangelizazzione degli Stati Uniti d'America.*

If just and reasonable pride be permitted in the work of carrying the message of the Gospel to the children of men, the Congregation may indeed be proud of its success in the United States. For two hundred and eighty-six years (1622–1908), Propaganda was the supreme court of administration and appeal, under the Holy Father, for the Church in this country. The Constitution of Pius X changes the Church here from the status of a missionary church and places us under the direct guidance of the Holy See. But to no other department of the Curia do we owe so much in the phenomenal progress of the faith in the United States as to Propaganda. And yet, one would search fruitlessly in American Catholic literature during the past century for any adequate appreciation of Propaganda's services. Writers such as Smith,[11] Murphy,[12] Hilling,[13] Baart,[14] Goddard,[15] Humphrey,[16] Taunton,[17] and others who treat of the Propaganda for English-speaking countries and who had the opportunity of dwelling upon its great services to faith and science, merely give us a description of its organization. It is no excuse to say that the design of these writers was canonical in outline rather than historical; for, to their readers, the Congregation of Propaganda could not be simply one of the fifteen great administrative bodies of the Roman Curia, it was *the* Congregation—more important, practically speaking, than all the others

[11] *Elements of Ecclesiastical Law.* New York, 1888, 3 vols.

[12] *The Chair of Peter.* London, 1886.

[13] *Procedure at the Roman Curia.* New York, 1907.

[14] *The Roman Court.* Milwaukee, 1895.

[15] *Manual of Ecclesiastical Law and Practice in Missionary Countries.* London, 1906.

[16] *Urbs et Orbis.* London, 1899.

[17] *Law of the Church.* London, 1906.

together. It is significant also to note that those who have written histories of the National Colleges in Rome, which are under the jurisdiction of Propaganda, fail to give their readers this historical appreciation.[18] Our purpose is then to prepare the way for a general history of the Congregation, to sift and classify the source-material at our disposal for a detailed story of Propaganda's three centuries of activity. On such questions as: the jurisdiction of Propaganda, whether territorial, material, or personal; the organization of the Congregation, its powers, rights, privileges and duties; the faculties granted by Propaganda (Cf. PUTZNER, (*Commentarium in facultates etc.*, New York, 1897), and on all other aspects of its juridic life, sufficient has already been published, both for the period prior to the *Sapienti Consilio* (1908), as well as since. There is a bibliography of books on these subjects in OJETTI, *De Romana Curia, Commentarium in Constitutionem Apostolicam "Sapienti Consilio," seu de Curiae piana reformatione* (Rome, 1910, pp. 3–5). A special bibliography for Propaganda will be found in the same volume, pp. 107–108. Since it is rather difficult to find an accurate list of the Cardinals-Prefect and the Secretaries of the Congregation, we asked, while in Rome this summer, the present Archivist of Propaganda, Rev. Dr. Castellucci, to have one compiled. It is as follows:[19]

1. CARDINALS-PREFECT

SAULI, ANTONIUS MARIA (1622).
LUDOVISI, LUDOVICUS (1622–1632).
BARBERINI, ANTONIUS (1632–1671).
ALTIERI, PAULUTIUS (1671–1698).
BARBERINI, CAROLUS (1698–1704).
SACRIPANTI, JOSEPH (1704–1727),
PETRA, VINCENTIUS (1727–1747).
VALENTI, GONZAGA SILVIUS (1747–1756).
SPINELLI, JOSEPH (1756–1763).
CASTELLI, JOSEPH MARIA (1763–1780).

[18] STEINHUBER, *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum-Hungaricum*. Freiburg, 1896; BRANN, *History of the American College, Rome*. New York, 1908; GASQUET, *The Venerable English College, Rome*. London, 1920. Even in the *Memorial Volume* of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884), where special praise is given to the Societé de la Propagation de la Foi of Paris, Propaganda is scarcely mentioned.

[19] A partial list is in the *Missiones Catholicae, etc.*, Vol. vii (1892).

ANTONELLI, LEONARDUS (1780–1795).
GERDIL, HYACINTHUS SIGISMUNDUS (1795–1802).
BORGIA, STEPHANUS (1802–1804).
DI PIETRO, MICHAEL (1805–1814).
LITTA, LAURENTIUS (1814–1818).
FONTANA, FRANCISCUS ALOISIUS (1818–1822).
CONSALVI, HERCULES (1824).
CAPPELLARI, MAURUS (1826–1831).
PEDICINI, CAROLUS MARIA (1831–1834)
FRANZONI, PHILIPPUS (1834–1856).
BARNABO, ALEXANDER (1856–1874).
FRANCHI, ALEXANDER (1874–1878).
SIMEONI, JOANNES (1878–1892).
LEDOCHOWSKI, MIECISLAUS (1892–1902).
GOTTI, HIERONYMUS MARIA (1902–1916).
SERAFINI, DOMINICUS (1916–1918).
VAN ROSSUM, GUILLELMUS (1918———).

2. SECRETARIES

INGOLI, FRANCISCUS (1622–1649).
MASSARI, DYONISIUS (1649–1657).
ALBERICI, MARIUS (1657–1668).
UBALDI, FRIDERICUS, *Arch. Caesarien.* (1668–1673).
RAVIZZA, FRANCISCUS, *Arch. Laodicen.* (1673–1675).
CERRI, URBANUS, (1675–1679).
CIBO, EDUARDUS, *Patr. Constantinop.* (1680–1695).
FABRONI, CAROLUS (1695–1706).
BIANCHIERI, ANTONIUS (1706–1707).
DE CAVALIERI, SILVIUS, *Arch. Athenarum.* (1707–1717).
CARAFA, ALOISIUS, *Arch. Larissen.* (1717–1724).
RUSPOLI, BARTHOLOMAEUS (1724–1730).
FORTEGUERRA, NICOLAUS (1730–1735).
MONTI, PHILIPPUS (1735–1743).
LERCARI, NICOLAUS (1743–1757).
ANTONELLI, NICOLAUS (1757–1759).
MAREFOSCHI, MARIUS (1759–1770).
BORGIA, STEPHANUS (1770–1789).
SANDODARI, ANTONIUS, *Arch. Adanen.* (1789–1795).
BRANCADORO, CAESAR, *Arch. Nisiben.* (1796–1801).

COPPOLA, DOMINICUS, *Arch. Myren.* (1801–1808).
QUARANTOTTI, JOANNES B. (1808–1816).
PEDICINI, CAROLUS MARIA (1816–1822).
CAPRANO, PATRUS, *Arch. Iconien.* (1823–1828).
CASTRACANE DEGLI ANTELMINELLI, CASTRUCCIUS (1829–1833).
MAI, ANGELUS (1833–1838).
CADOLINI, IGNATIUS, *Arch. Spoletanus.* (1838–1843).
BRUNELLI, JOANNES (1843–1847).
BARNABO, ALEXANDER (1848–1856).
BEDINI, CAJETANUS, *Arch. Thebarum.* (1856–1861).
CAPALTI, HANNIBAL (1861–1868).
SIMEONI, JOANNES (1868–1875).
AGNOZZI, JOANNES B. (1877–1879).
MASOTTI, IGNATIUS (1879–1882).
JACOBINI, DOMINICUS, *Arch. Tyrem.* (1882–1891).
PERSICO, IGNATIUS, *Arch. Tamiathen.* (1891–1893).
CIASCA, AUGUSTINUS, *Arch. Larissen.* (1893–1899).
VECCIA, ALOISIUS (1899–1911).
LAURENTI, CAMILLUS (1911——).

The historical material for the story of Propaganda may be divided into *Books* and *Sources.*

I. BOOKS

1. ON THE ROMAN CURIA AND THE MISSIONS

The general literature on the Roman Curia which has already been referred to, is too extensive to be listed here. The literature on the Missions in general and on the Missions conducted by the religious orders, all of which were under Propaganda's jurisdiction, is one of the richest we possess; and this source-material must be studied by any one who desires to write a complete or partial history of Propaganda. The story of Catholic missionary endeavor begins with the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, and in a certain sense it is equivalent to the universal history of the Church. The best guide to this literature will be found in HEIMBUCHER, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche,* (Paderborn, 1917, 3 vols.). Among the general works on this subject are the following: WITTMANN, *Die Herrlichkeit der Kirche in ihren Missionen seit der Glaubensspaltung* (Augsburg, 1841, 2 vols.); KROSE, *Katho-*

lische Missionsstatistik. (Freiburg, 1908); HAHN *Geschichte der katholischen Missionen* (Cologne, 1857–65, 5 vols.); LOUVET, *Les Missions Catholiques au XIXme Siècle* (Lyons, 1894); HENRION, *Histoire des Missions Catholiques* (Paris, 1847); WERNER, *Katholischer Missionsatlas* (Freiburg, 1885); and the *Catholic Directories* of the different countries. For the United States, there are: the *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland), 1886–91, 73 vols.); BARCIA, *Ensayo Cronológico* (Madrid, 1723); SHEA, *History of the Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes* (New York, 1855); DE SMET, *Western Missions and Missionaries* (New York, 1854), and *Oregon Missions* (New York, 1847); ENGELHARDT, *Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1908), and the *Catholic Directories.*[20] The general histories of the Church and the histories of the Church in particular countries should also be consulted. For example Shea's four volumes, covering the years 1492 to 1866 are indispensable for the story of Propaganda's work in this country.

2. ON PROPAGANDA FIDE

No history, official or otherwise, of the Congregation has as yet been published. The libraries of Rome, Paris, Brussels, and London were searched during the past summer for the purpose of finding source-material dealing with Propaganda, but apart from the few items which we list in this paper, nothing important was discovered. There is one exception to this statement: the two volumes of OTTO MEJER, entitled *Die Propaganda, ihre Provinzen und ihre Recht, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Deutschland* (Göttingen, 1852, 2 vols.). This work, as we shall see, was begun and completed in an unfriendly spirit. It is of minor use to the historian today, and is marred by inaccuracies which show a lack of canonical law values. Naturally all the greater Encyclopedias and Dictionaries contain summary articles on Propaganda. Moroni in his *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica* (Venice, 1840–61, *s.v.*, Congregazione di Prop. Fide), gives a concise statement of its foundation and labors. Theodore Trede has an attack on the object of Propaganda in his article

[20] An excellent series of articles with bibliographies covering the question of Catholic Missions in general, and of those of Canada and the United States in particular, will be found in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. x, pp. 375–391.

Die Propaganda in Rom, ihre Geschichte und Bedeutung, in the *Deutsche Zeit- und Streit- Fragen*, vol. xiii (1884), no. 201. This is an anti-Jesuit pamphlet. The *bedeutung* of Propaganda is interpreted by Trede from the viewpoint that St. Ignatius' canonization (May 22, 1622) preceded the foundation of the Congregation (June 22, 1622). As is well known, the Discalced Carmelites were foremost among the religious orders in the project, among them being Dominico di Gesù e Maria, the General of the order. Baumgarten in the *Katholik* (vol. 79 (1899), pp. 250–261), summarizes the story of Propaganda in his paper: *Die heilige Kongregation zur Verbreitung des Glaubens und ihr Gebiet*. The best account of this nature in English is Benigni's article *s.v.*, Propaganda, in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (vol. xii, p. 456–461). This has the added merit of having been written after the change of 1908. The student will do well to consult the numerous references to Propaganda in the *Ecclesiastical Review*, of Overbrook, Pa.; an excellent account of the Congregation will be found in the article by MARTIN, *The Congregation of Propaganda* (*Ibid.*, vol. lx, pp. 524, ss.).

The leading articles and essays dealing with the successful theft by the Italian Government of the Congregation's property are: BONGHI, *La Propaganda Fide ed il governo italiano*, in the *Nuova Antologia* (vol. xxviii, pp. 280-312); *Propaganda e la conversione dei suoi beni immobili per opera del governo italiano* (2 vols., Rome, 1884), which contains the dossier of the case as it was tried before the Cour de Cassation in Rome; SODERINI, *La Propaganda Fide ed il governo italiano* (Rome, 1884); O'REILLY, *Propaganda Question and our Duty* (in the ACQR, vol. viii (1884), pp. 226 ss.); SPILLMANN, *Die Beraubung der Propaganda*, in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, (vol. xxvi, pp. 225 ss.); *Church Spoliation in Italy*, in the *Month*, Vol. xxii (1874), pp. 463–477—a review of Dupanloup's *Memorial on the Spoliation of the Church at Rome and throughout Italy*, which was translated into English (London, 1876), but which is now quite out of print. Articles will also be found in the leading continental newspapers of the day, *Osservatore Romano*, *Moniteur de Rome*, *Unità Cattolica*, *Journal de Bruxelles*, *Monde*, *Voce della Verità*, etc., and in the *Acta Sanctae Sedis*. The attempted theft of the American College at Rome by the Italian Government is treated by Brann.

A reliable account of the famous polyglot press of Propaganda will be found in MELCHIOR GALLEOTTI, *Della Tipografia poliglotta di Propaganda* (Turin, 1866).[20]

For the extent and results of the change in the administration of Propaganda by the *Sapienti Consilio*, all the recent commentaries on the new Codex should be studied; in particular, OJETTI, *De Curiae piana reformatione* (pp. 107–128), and HILLING, *Die rechtliche Stellung der Propaganda Kongregation nach der neuen Kurialreform Pius X*, in the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 1911, pp. 147–158. The best commentaries in English will be found in the *Ecclesiastical Review*.

We come now to the actual history, partial or complete, of the Sacred Congregation. Probably the earliest account is that of BEYER, *Breve compendium historiae congregationis de Prop. Fide*, published at Königsberg, 1721. This volume we were unable to find in any of the large libraries of Europe during our search. The next publication in point of time is that by OTTO MEJER, *Die Propaganda in England* (Leipzig, 1851). This seems to have been inspired by the "uprising" of 1850, and is an attack on the Brief of September 29, 1850, restoring the English hierarchy under Wiseman. The book had a certain vogue, and this encouraged Mejer to write his larger work, the title of which is given above. This larger work in two volumes was the only one we were able to find in the libraries abroad, professing to give a complete history of the Sacred Congregation. Its author was a non-Catholic, and he writes as an opponent of the Church: "Wenn ein Protestant über die römische Propaganda schreibt, so kann er nur gegen sie schreiben (Vol. i, p. 1)." Despite this apriori attitude, Mejer gives us an interesting though incomplete account of Propaganda's labors up to that time. His work is divided into four books: Book I. contains the historical prolegomena necessary to the subject, and treats: (*a*) the Missions conducted by the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites and Jesuits, up to 1622; (*b*) the National Colleges in Rome; (*c*) the foundation of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide; (*d*) official sources for the history of Propaganda; (*e*) Cerri's *Report* of

[20] Cf. *Catalogus Editionum quae prodierunt ex typographia polyglotta S. Cong. de P. F.*. Rome, 1878.

1677.[21] Book II. describes the ecclesiastical provinces under the jurisdiction of Propaganda, the method of organization followed, choice of missionaries, their training and faculties, and the general work of Propaganda in Catholic lands. Book III treats these same subjects for the work of Propaganda in Protestant lands. Book IV. attempts to describe the canonical cases brought before the Congregation and deals with the alleged political influence of Propaganda in international affairs. Several Appendices are added; one being the 1844 edition of the *Notizia*. The work is frankly biased, but it could serve as a model for a general history of the Congregation. Propaganda, Mejer holds, is but a disguised branch of the Society of Jesus. Pieper published at Cologne in 1886, as a result of his studies in the Roman Archives, his well-written essay: *Die Propaganda-Kongregation und die nordischen Missionen im siebenzehnten Jahrhundert.* A good description of the foundation of the Congregation will be found by this same writer in the *Akten* of the fifth international Congress of Catholic Scholars (Munich, 1900)—*Gründung und erste Einrichtung der Propaganda-Kongregation.*

II. Sources.

Trede makes a statement, which Mejer repeats, to the effect that Propaganda has never officially given the world any knowledge of its labors during the past three centuries— "Ist sie doch ein Institut welches nicht von sich spricht?" The Sacred Congregation has indeed said very little about its stupendous activity since 1622. Its field of labor has been coterminous with the universal Church. So much had to be done that there was little time to do more than publish yearly statistics from time to time. Propaganda reorganized in 1622, upon the then modern system of efficiency, the entire missionary activity of the Church. It correlated the forces at work in thousands of different directions and under thousands of different conditions. It supplied missionary workers for practically the whole known

[21] *Relazione all'Santità di N. S. P. P. Innocenzo XI dello Stato di Propaganda Fide* (pp. 52), published by the Secretary of the Congregation Msgr. Urbano Cerri. It was published (with an Introduction) in English by the Anglican Bishop Hoadly, under the pseudonym Sir Richard Steele: *An Account of the State of Religion throughout the World,* (Cf. CHR, Vol. i, pp. 478–480).

world. This task demanded unlimited courage on the part of its officials. As in every great undertaking, there were difficulties from the outset; difficulties with sovereigns who saw old rights and privileges invaded; difficulties with monastic orders and religious congregations, which up to that time had enjoyed a sort of laissez-faire in their choice of missionary fields and methods; difficulties arising from indefinite canonical regulations when regular and secular met on the same ground; difficulties of a material nature which often brought the work to a standstill. Literally speaking, there was too much to be done in the Missions, too few resources to call upon for the work, too few missionaries at hand, for the Cardinals-Prefect or their Secretaries to stop for the purpose of chronicling all that had been accomplished. There was more than the work of spreading the Gospel of Christ and of winning back to the fold erring children in the design of Propaganda. It was, and is today, one of the greatest civilizing forces the world has ever seen.

1. PROPAGANDA ARCHIVES

But even though Propaganda has not yet written its own story, its Archives are the pride of Rome and the delight of all who have had the privilege of working therein. These Archives are housed in the Collegio Urbano, Piazza di Spagna. They have not suffered the same vicissitudes as the other Roman Archives. They are among the best housed Archives in the world, are systematically arranged, and are bound in about seven thousand volumes. The indications on the backs of these volumes, however, are not accurate, but there is a complete and reliable set of Indexes. The Archives have been described by BOURGIN, *Les Archives Pontificales* (pp. 20-21); by GACHARD, in *Les Archives du Vatican* (Brussels, 1874, p. 31), who states there are 3,963 volumes of documents; by ANTON PIEPER, *Das Propaganda-Archiv*, in the *Römische Quartalschrift*, Vol. i, (1887), pp. 80–99, 259–265; by HINOJOSA in *Los Despachos de la Diplomacia Pontificia en España;* and by KOLLMAN, in *O Archivu Sv. Kongregace de P. F.*, in the *Casopis Musea Kralovstvi Ceskeho*, Vol. lxvi, pp. 423–442. The English reader will find an excellent description of the Archives in FISH, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and Italian Archives*, pp. 119–124, Washington, 1911. The chief divisions of the Archives are: Atti, Scritture originali

riferiti, Scritture non riferiti, Lettere, Udienze, Cause, Memoriali, Congregazione particolari, Miscellanea, Istruizione, Scripta Varia, and Visite e Collegi. The *Notizia* of 1843 (p. 477), speaks of the Archives as follows:

> L'Archivio conserva colle lettere originali et le copie delle risposte loro date come ancora dei decreti, risoluzioni fatte, e de'rescritti, bolle, e brevi Apostolici: collezione pretiossima alla religione, ed inestimabile pe'monumenti autentici d'istoria ecclesiastica che racchiude.

With the exception of a short period towards the close of the last century (HASKINS, *The Vatican Archives* in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. ii, p. 42), the Archives of Propaganda have been closed to research workers. Permission to use the documents was never readily granted. Cardinal Gotti told the present writer that these are not primarily historical documents but the *family* archives of the Church, and as such do not fall within the expressed wish of Leo XIII. Propaganda's answer to historical students has been, with few exceptions, the same as that issued on August 20, 1669—

> *Respondeatur non esse solitum ut Sacra Congregatio scripturas existentes in Archivio alteri communicet.*

Some works, however, are the result of original research in the Archives: ROCCA DA CESINALE, *Storia delle Missioni dei Cappuccini* (Paris-Rome, 1867–76); MORAN, *Spicilegium Ossoriense* (Dublin, 1874–78, 3 vols.); BELLESHEIM, *Kirchengeschichte Schottlands* (Mainz, 1882); WERNER, *Katholischer Missionsatlas* (Freiburg, 1884); SHEA, Vols. i and ii of his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1886–88); BLOK, *Lijst van Dokumenten betreffende ons Land*, in the *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht* (Vol. xxvii, pp. 329–376, Vol. xxviii, pp. 38–110); HUGHES, *History of the Jesuits in North America* (New York, 1907); GUILDAY, *English Catholic Refugees in the Low Countries* (London, 1914), and recently O'DANIEL, *Life of Bishop Fenwick, O. P.* (Washington, D. C., 1920).

2. COLLECTION OF SOURCES

The Sacred Congregation has guided the publication of certain volumes of sources entirely composed of archival material. The earliest of these is the *Constitutiones Apostolicae Sacrae Congregationis de P. F.* (Rome, 1642, pp. 292). This is a rare

volume and is incomplete. The copy in the British Musum seems to have belonged to Propaganda itself. The *Bullarium Pontificium sacrae Congregationis de P. F.* (Rome, 1839–1841, in five volumes, with two columes of Appendixes), contains many documents prior to 1622, the extreme dates being 1207 and 1721. The *Collectanea S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide seu decreta instructiones rescripta pro Apostolicis Missionibus*, in two volumes (Rome, 1893–1907), contains documents from 1622 to 1866, and from 1866 to 1906. In all there are 2,317 *pièces*. This work should be completed from 1906 to 1908. These three monumental works are now superseded by the official publication of DE MARTINIS, *Jus Pontificium de Propaganda Fide*, in eight volumes, with a supplementary *Index Alphabeticus*, published at Rome (1888–1898). There are excellent onomastic tables at the end of each volume, and the *pièces* go from 1622 to 1878.[22] Propaganda also published statistics from time to time, such as the *Notizia statistica delle Missioni cattolici in tutto il mondo*, (Rome, 1843, pp. 305, 1844, pp. 718). Pieper seems to believe that these two volumes were meant for the private use of the Congregation.[23] Mejer bases much of his work on the *Notizia* of 1844, which he has published as an appendix to his work (Vol. i, pp. 477–562). There were issued also for a number of years from the Propaganda Press a series of annual volumes, entitled: *Missiones Ritus Latini cura S. Congregationis de P. F. descriptae*, which were begun in 1886 and apparently ceased in 1892. The history of the Church in the United States is given year by year without change, and we read of the "nobilis vir Hibernus nomine Baltimore" who made the foundation of Maryland in 1634. Excellent ecclesiastical maps are in some of the volumes.

"The prosperity of Propaganda," says Ranke,[24] "grew day

[22] In dealing with the sources for Propaganda, care must be taken not to confound the great Roman Congregation with the Society for the Propagation of Faith of Paris-Lyons, founded in 1822. This mistake has been made by FISH, *op. cit.*, p. 122 note 22. Obviously, the archival sources of the Paris Society together with the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* contain material of first value for the historian of Propaganda.

[23] *Das Propaganda-Archiv*, l. c., p. 262.

[24] *History of the Popes*, Vol. iii, p. 244. London, 1852.

by day more brilliant. Who is there that knows not what the Propaganda has done for philological learning? In all respects it has ever striven, and perhaps most successfully in its earliest period, to fulfil its calling upon a vast and noble scale." Dupanloup has described Propaganda as the Prime Minister of the Church, as the foremost and the most indispensable of all the papal administrative offices. One of the best tributes given to Propaganda will be found in Balsimelli.[25] To Gregory XV, he says, the Church owes that Congregation———

> che chiamasi la Propaganda, di cui non v'ha alcun esempio antico nè moderno, e che destò la meraviglia e l'invidia del più illustre conquistatore, che sia vissuto da molti secoli; ma lo scopo di essa risiede nel conquistar gli spiriti al vero, e alla virtù i cuori, abilitandoli coll' innocenza a godere in terra una felicità virtuosa e a fruire in cielo i gaudii della vera patria. Mentre i superbi potentati di Europa consumano le loro cure, e spendono sovente un tesoro di sudori e di sangue infinito per provvedere a volgari interessi o soddisfare a grette ambizioni, acquistando al loro dominio una nuova striscia di terra, la Propaganda abbraccia colle vaste e animose sue speranze tutto il genere umano, estende i suoi benifici influssi sino ai termini più lontani del mondo. Ella spedisce a tal effetto i suoi miti conquistatori, non ad uccidere, ma a convertire ed a mansuefare, e, se occorre, a morir perdonando; e questi uomini poveri ed umili, aventi per insegna una croce e per sole armi la fede e la persuasione congiunte ad una carità eroica e ad uno spirito illimitato di sacrificio, operano spesso quei prodigi, che sono interdetti al valore dei capitani e degli eserciti. Chi potrebbe descrivere le maraviglie dell' apostolato? Chi potrebbe dipingere adequatamente ciò che vi ha di bello e di grande in una missione cattolica, che fra i trovati cristiani è forse il più stupendo, poichè con mezzi debolissimi in apparenza produce gli effetti più grandiosi e durevoli? Qual è l' instituto, che sia più degno della considerazione del filosofo, dell' amore e dell' ammirazione di chi anela a diffondere la civiltà, ed ha un animo benevolo per la famiglia universale de' suoi fratelli? La storia coetanea c' insegna a che riescano le spedizioni conquistatrici e trafficanti, per diffondere l' incivilimento e felicitare le nazioni barbariche ed infedeli, quando la cupidigia politica e mercantile non è raffrenata dalla religione. Le missioni cattoliche convertirono e addimesticarono la Spagna, la Francia, l'Inghilterra, la Scandinavia, la Germania, l'Ungheria, la Boemia, la Polonia, e vi seminarono quella gentilezza, che ora fruttifica e si spande sul resto del globo; il che basta per rispondere a coloro, che le giudicano inutili, o mettono i conquistatori e i missionari nella medesima schiera.

The Popes of the past three hundred years have been able to look out over the wide expanse of Christendom, over the *Provinciae*

[25] *Compendio di storia della Chiesa*, Vol. ii, p. 311. Rome, 1920.

Apostolicae, subject directly to the Holy See, and the *Terrae Missionum*, subject to the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, and to recognize the steady progress of the Gospel, comparable in every way with the first three centuries of the Church. No country in the world owes so much to Propaganda's influence and guidance as the United States. Down almost beyond the middle of the eighteenth century, American history is largely a history of discoveries and explorations. The thin edge of the Atlantic coast is small in contrast with those broad territories in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys and in the Far West, where the missionaries sent by Propaganda were the first to show the way to the trader and to the home-seeker; and every one of these soldiers of Christ was a sharer in the strong stream of humanitarianism, of benevolence, of religious zeal, that found its source in that Sacred Congregation which is now rounding out its third century of devotion to the highest good of mankind. Scholars of every science, both within and without the Church, will rejoice that Propaganda is at last to have its history written. It will be a record of marvelous successes—successes of which it has never boasted; all has been done for the edification of the Church, for the glory of God and for the betterment of the world.

PETER GUILDAY.

MISCELLANY

An American Martyrology

If it were as easy today to obtain the honor of the altars as it was a thousand years ago, the calendars of all the dioceses of the United States would show many feasts of local saints, martyrs, confessors and virgins. Since, however, the right of beatification and canonization has been reserved, first to Councils (in the 11th century), then to the Holy See exclusively (in 1634), the complicated mode of procedure has made canonizations rare occurrences in countries not belonging to the Latin races; yet the time may not be far distant when even the United States and Canada will kneel at the altars of duly canonized American Saints.

The American Martyrology which we have compiled, aims at giving the names of those Christian heroes who have died for Christ or for some Christian virtue, whilst laboring within the limits of the United States, or of those who have some special relation to them. This rule excludes the great heroes of Canada, Fathers Brebeuf, Lallemant, etc., who never set foot on United States territory.

We have found three lists of American Martyrs: one in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (vol. x, p. 390), another in the *American Catholic Historical Researches* (October 1906, p. 332) and a third, revised list, in the same publication (January, 1907, p. 75). These three lists simply give in chronological order the names of the martyrs and the dates and places of their martyrdom. Our present Martyrology follows the order of the Calendar and adds to the names a short sketch of the life of each martyr, as far as particulars are known. Where the date of death is unknown, we arbitrarily assigned a day, marking it with an asterisk.

We have added to the names of these martyrs those of the Venerable Servants of God whose process of beatification has, in some way, been inaugurated, *e.g.*, Junipero Serra, Bishop Neumann, Madame Duchesne and others. The terms "martyr," "confessor" and "virgin" are used merely from convenience, it being understood that no official act of the Church authorizes the application of these terms to any of the missionaries or to their converts.

Our principal sources have been SHEA, *Catholic Missions amongst the Indian Tribes of the United States*, New York, 1855; ID. *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, New York, 1886; and CAMPBELL, *Pioneer Priests of North America*, New York, 1910. We have also freely used HAMMER, *Die Franziskaner in den Ver. Staaten Nordamerikas*, Cologne, 1892. Where the source is not given after the sketch, the information is taken from Shea; in fact, both of his works were used for nearly every sketch.

JANUARY 4. At Emmitsburg, Maryland, the memory of *Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton*, Foundress and first Superior of the Sisters of Charity in the United States. She was born at New York, August 28, 1774, of non-Catholic parents and married on January 25, 1794, to Wm. Magee Seton, by the Anglican Bishop Prevost. After the death of her husband, she was received into the Church by Father Matthew O'Brien at St. Peter's Church, New York, on March

14, 1805. (This was not Ash Wednesday, but the Thursday after the second Sunday of Lent). With her three daughters she, after many privations, opened a school for girls, next to the chapel of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, where her sons were being educated. When postulants arrived, Mother Seton took vows privately before Archbishop Carroll and, in 1808, the community was transferred to Emmitsburg. The rule was approved by Archbishop Carroll in January, 1812, when Mother Seton was also elected first superior. With 18 sisters she made her solemn vows on July 19, 1813. The Fathers Superior of the community were the Sulpicians, Fathers Dubourg, Davis, and Dubois. Great spiritual desolation purified her soul during a great portion of her religious life, but she cheerfully took the royal road of the cross. She died of a pulmonary affection, January 4, 1821. In 1880 Cardinal (then Archbishop) Gibbons urged that steps be taken towards her canonization. The results of the official inquiries were placed in the hands of the postulator of the cause on June 7, 1911. Her community of Emmitsburg was incorporated into the Congregation of the Vincentian Sisters of Paris in 1850. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. xiii, 739. SADLIER, *Elizabeth Seton*, New York, 1905.

JANUARY 5. At Philadelphia, Pa., the memory of the Servant of God, Bishop *John Nepomucene Neumann, C.S.S.R.* He was born at Praschitz, Bohemia, March 28, 1811. Directly before ordination he left Bohemia to consecrate himself to the American missions. He landed at New York, June 2, 1836, was incardinated and ordained by Bishop Dubois (June 25) and sent to western New York (Buffalo, etc.). In 1840 he entered the Redemptorist Congregation and was the first of its members professed in America (January 16, 1842). After having built St. Philomena's Church at Pittsburgh, he was made vice-provincial of the Redemptorists in America (1846). In 1852 Pius IX commanded him to accept the bishopric of Philadelphia; he was consecrated March 28, 1852. One of his first acts was to provide for Catholic schools. Noted for his devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, he was the first American Bishop to introduce the Forty Hours' Devotion into his diocese (1853). He died at Philadelphia, January 5, 1860, and was buried in a vault before the altar in a lower chapel of St. Peter's Redemptorist Church, Philadelphia. On December 15, 1896, he received the title of "Venerable," and the acts of the process of his beatification are now under consideration. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. x, p. 773. Berger, *Leben und Wirken*. New York, 1883.

JANUARY 25. At Patali, in the country of the Apalache Indians, Florida, the memory of the Franciscan missionaries *Juan de Parga* and *Marcos Delgado*, Martyrs. When during the war of Spanish succession Governor Moore of South Carolina with his Apalachicola allies invaded Florida and marched into the Apalache country to sell the Indian converts as slaves, Father Juan de Parga, the missionary of Patali, addressed the Indians, urging them to fight bravely, for God's holy law, as no death could be more glorious than to perish for the faith and truth. After the unfortunate battle of Ayubale, Father Parga, under the eyes of Moore, was burned by the Indians at the stake, beheaded and his leg cut off. Another Religious, Marcos Delgado, endeavoring to save Father Parga, was slain, January 25, 1704. They were buried at Ybitacucho. SHEA, Vol. i, p. 461.

*JANUARY 26. Amongst the Tanos Indians of New Mexico the memory of Father *Manuel Beltran, O. F. M.*, Martyr. After the reestablishment of the missions in New Mexico, in 1683, by Father Nicolas Lopez, Father Manuel was sent to

a church near a pueblo of Yumas and Tanos.[1] He labored there a few years, but about 1689 his own Indians rose against him and most cruelly slew him. After his death, since all other missionaries had been driven away to El Paso, the once flourishing Church of New Mexico disappeared. HAMMER, p. 47.

*JANUARY 31. In the country of the Apalaches, about Tal'ahassee, Florida, the memory of Father *Angel Miranda, O. F. M.*, the lieutenant *Juan Ruiz Mejia*, the Indians *Antonio Enija, Amador Cuipa Feliciano* and companions, Martyrs. When Governor Moore of South Carolina attacked the Spanish missions in the Apalache country, after the battle of Ayubale (January 25, 1704), P. Miranda and Lieutenant Mejia with many Indian converts fell into the hands of Moore and his Indian allies. Since the Spanish officer could not furnish the ransom demanded, Father Miranda, Mejia, some soldiers and a number of Christian Indians from the town of St. Luis, were burnt at the stake, at the end of January, 1704. Some of the Indians, while undergoing the torture, showed in prayer and exhortation the heroism of Christian martyrs. SHEA, Vol. i, p. 461.

*FEBRUARY 2. Near Donaldsonville, La., the memory of Father *Jean François Buisson de Saint-Côme* (Cosme), of the Seminary of Quebec, Martyr. He was born at Pointe-Levi, Canada, of a family which originally came from Saint-Cosme-le-Vert, France. He was baptized February 6, 1667, and ordained February 2, 1690. After serving for a time at Mines, Nova Scotia (Acadia), he was assigned to the western mission. He labored for a time at the Cahokia (Tamaroa) mission in Illinois, until succeeded by Father J. Bergier, about 1698. Then he followed Fathers Montigny and Davion, of the same Seminary, to the lower Mississippi and took up his residence amongst the Natchez (December, 1699). Shortly after he returned to the Tamaroa (opposite the present city of St. Louis) and preached to them, until, in 1701, he was relieved and again descended to the Natchez. The tribes of this region, however, were obdurate, so that by the end of 1704 all but the Natchez mission had been abandoned, leaving Father St. Côme alone. To seek relief from a cruel illness, in 1706 he started from his mission for Mobile, accompanied by three Frenchmen and a slave. While asleep at night on the bank of the river, the party was attacked and murdered by the savage Shetimasha (Sitimaches), about fifty miles from the mouth of the Mississippi. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. xiii, p. 342. La Haye, *Journal Historique*. New Orleans, 1831.

FEBRUARY 14. At Axacan (Occoquan) on the Rappahannock River, Virginia, the memory of the Jesuit martyrs, Father *Luis de Quiros* and the lay brothers *Gabriel de Solis* and *Juan Mendez*. They had come to Virginia with the Vice Provincial P. Segura (v. February 18). When the missionaries found that their treacherous Indian guide, Luis de Velasco, did not return to them, P. Quiros with his companions set out to effect a return of the misguided man by a personal conference. But Luis met them with hypocritical excuses. When the disconsolate missionaries turned to leave the village, the Indians rushed on them and killed them with a shower of arrows, February 14, 1571. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. xv, p. 455. *Historical Records and Studies*, New York, December, 1904, p. 355.

[1] After the revolt of 1680, the Indians of New Mexico abandoned their old towns, in the new pueblos, and tribal lines were broken up.

FEBRUARY 18. At Occoquan, on the Rappahannock River in Virginia, the memory of the Jesuit martyrs Father *Juan Bautista de Segura*, the novices *Gabriel de Granada* and *Sancho de Zevellos* and the lay brothers *Cristóval Redondo* and *Pedro Linares*. With Father Rogel, the founder of the Florida mission, P. Segura, since 1568, had worked at various points along the coast of Florida, Georgia and the Carolinas, with little success. About to give up the impracticable field, he received orders from S. Pius V and S. Francis Borgia to persevere. Accompanied by a converted Indian chief, Luis de Velasco, Father Segura, Vice Provincial of Florida, with his companions (the martyrs of February 14) and four Indian boys, sailed from S. Helena (St. Augustine), and landed near the present St. Mary's on the Chesapeake Bay, September 10, 1570. But the Indian guide, a brother of the chief, apostatized, and the Indians, after having slain Father Quiros on February 14, killed Father Segura and his companions, with the hatchets they had taken from them, February 18, 1571. This martyrdom led S. Francis Borgia to abandon the mission of Florida for the more inviting field of Mexico. Father Segura was born at Toledo and had joined the Jesuits at Alcalá, April 9, 1566. He had been rector of the college of Valladolid, when he was sent to America by St. Francis Borgia in 1568. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. xv, 455.

*FEBRUARY 20. Amongst the Fox tribe, in Wisconsin, the memory of Father *Leonard Vatier, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was killed in February, 1715. Unfortunately we have no details of his life and death. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. x, p. 391.

FEBRUARY 22. At Hawikuh (Aguico), amongst the Zuñi Indians of New Mexico, the memory of Father *Francisco Letrado, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He asked his superiors at Mexico City to send him to the Zuñi mission because it was the most discouraging of all the missions in New Mexico. When, on Sunday, February 22, 1632, he urged his people to come and hear Mass, he was pierced by a shower of arrows. READ, *History of New Mexico*, pp. 258ss.

FEBRUARY 23. At Denver, Colorado, the memory of Father *Leo Heinrichs, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was born at Oestrich, archdiocese of Cologne, Germany, August 15, 1867, arrived at New York, November 8, 1886, and entered the Order of St. Francis, in the province of the Holy Name, at Paterson, N. J., on December 4, 1886. He was ordained priest, July 26, 1891, after he had made his profession on December 8, 1890. Whilst distributing Holy Communion, he was shot by an Italian, in St. Elizabeth's Church, Denver, Colorado, on February 23, 1908.

FEBRUARY 27. At Hawikuh in New Mexico, the memory of Father *Martin de Arvide, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was killed by the Zipias Indians, February 27, 1632, shortly after Father Francisco Letrado. READ, *Hist. of N. M.*, p. 258.

*MARCH 2. In Florida, south of St. Augustine, the memory of *a Franciscan Father* and *an Indian Chief*, Martyrs. A chief had been converted by the Franciscans, on the eastern coast of Florida, but his tribe demanded that the chief should renounce his faith and put the friars to death. On his refusal they killed him (1697) and one of the Franciscans; two others escaped. SHEA, Vol. i, p. 457.

*MARCH 3. In Upper Louisiana, the memory of Father *Juan Mingues, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was killed in a massacre by Missouri Indians, about 1720. Further particulars are not known. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. x, p. 391. The martyrdom is given as doubtful by J. Mooney; Shea does not mention it.

*MARCH 10. At Onondaga, in the present State of New York, the memory of *Frances Gonanhatenha*, Martyr. Born at Onondaga, and converted by Father Fremin, with other Christians she had retired to Caughnawaga on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence. She was a model of piety, modesty and charity. With her companions she was surprised by the Mohawks and English and tortured. Then she was brought to Onandaga, and, because she remained true to the faith, she was tortured again for three successive nights, then tied to the stake and, after being burned for a considerable time, scalped and forced to run till she fell beneath a shower of stones. She died for Christ c. 1692. SHEA, *Missions*, p. 325.

MARCH 16. At the Mission of Santa Cruz, on the San Saba River, Texas, the memory of the Franciscan Fathers *Alonzo Giraldo Terreros* and *José Santiestevan*, Martyrs. Father Alonzo, from the missionary college of Querétaro, was superior of the mission of San Saba.[2] On March 16, 1758, some two thousand Comanche Indians, shouting and firing, surrounded the mission, demanding that Father Terreros accompany them to the fort, a few miles off.[3] He mounted a horse, but had ridden only a few feet, when he was shot; with a groan he fell dead from his horse. Then the Indians made a general attack, killing some of the soldiers stationed at the mission. Father Santiestevan fled to the storeroom, but that was the first place the assailants visited. He perished under the blows of their weapons. Father Miguel Molina was wounded, but escaped during the night. ENGELHARDT, *Missionary Labors*, in the *Franciscan Herald*, v. 145 ss.

*MARCH 20. Amongst the Tamarois Indians in Illinois, the memory of Father *Gaston*, Martyr. He belonged to the Seminary of Quebec and had been ordained there in 1730. When Father Thaumur de la Source returned to Canada Father Joseph Courrier and Father Gaston were sent to succeed him in 1730. The latter was killed by Indians soon after reaching Tamarois. SHEA, Vol. i, p. 577.

*MARCH 24. At Fort St. Louis, Texas, the memory of the Recollect Missionaries *Zenobius Membré* and *Maxime LeClerq*, and the Sulpician *Chefdeville*, Martyrs. Father Zenobius was born at Baupaume, Dep. Pas-de-Calais, France, and was a member of the Franciscan province of St. Antony. He arrived in Canada in June, 1675, and, in 1679, accompanied La Salle to the country of the Illinois, where, with very small success, he worked for the conversion of the Indians, around Fort Crevecoeur. In September, 1681, he returned to Green Bay with Tonti, but in 1682 accompanied La Salle down the Mississippi river, returned with him to Europe and was made superior of the Franciscan monastery in his home city. In 1684 Membré with two Franciscans and three Sulpicians followed La Salle into Texas. The commander erected Fort St. Louis on Espiritu Santo Bay in 1685 and left there Fathers Membré, LeClerq and Chefdeville with 20 persons. Having failed in establishing a mission amongst the Indians, the three priests with the garrison were killed and the fort burned by the Karankawas, in 1687. *Cath. Encyl.*, Vol. x, 172.

MARCH 25. Near Fulton, Hawamba Co., Mississippi, the memory of the Jesuit missionary *P. Antonin Senat*, Martyr. He had arrived in America in 1734. When the massacre at Natchez (November 29, 1729) involved the valley

[2] Founded by P. Miguel Aranda in 1753, among the Apaches. The missionaries had arrived April 17, 1757.

[3] Near the present town of Menardville.

of the Mississippi in Indian wars, an expedition of French and Illinois was sent against the Chickasaws in 1736, and Father Antonin Senat, S. J., accompanied the force as chaplain. After some success the French corps, which was to cooperate with another from the south, was attacked by the whole Chickasaw army. Vincennes, the commander, d'Artaguiette, Father Senat and others were taken. The missionary could readily have escaped. He would not, however, abandon those who needed his ministry. The prisoners were tied by fours to stakes and put to death with all the refinement of Indian cruelty, on Palm Sunday, March 25, 1736. To the last the devoted Jesuit exhorted his companions to suffer with patience and courage, to honor their religion and country. *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. lxxi, p. 171.

APRIL 17. At Caughnawaga, Canada, the memory of the venerable servant of God, *Catherine Tegakwitha*, Virgin, the "Lily of the Mohawks." She was born at Ossernenon, New York, in 1656, of a Christian Algonquin mother and a pagan Iroquois father. When she was four years old her parents and brother died of smallpox, and the child was adopted by her uncle, chief of the Turtle clan. In 1667 she was instructed in the faith by Fathers Fremin, Bruyas and Pierron, S. J., and when the clan moved to the northern bank of the Mohawk, near the present town of Fonda, in 1674, she was baptized by Father Jacques de Lamberville. Thenceforth she practised her religion unflinchingly in the face of almost unbearable opposition, till finally she was assisted by some Christian Indians to escape to Caughnawaga on the St. Lawrence. Here she lived in the cabin of Anastasia Tegonhatsihonga, a Christian squaw, her sanctity impressing not only her own people but also the French and the missionaries. Her mortifications were extreme. She died April 17, 1680. Many pilgrims visit her tomb and the Councils of Baltimore and Quebec have petitioned for her canonization. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. xiv, p. 471.

*APRIL 18. At Carniceria, Texas, the memory of Brother *José Pita O. F. M.*, Martyr. When, in 1721, Father Antonio Margil restored the missions in Texas, Brother José Pita, thinking that the presence of troops had made travel safe, undertook to reach the mission for which he had volunteered, without the proper escort. At a place which has since borne the name of Carniceria, about 60 miles from San Xavier River, and on a site on which subsequently a mission was erected, he fell into an ambuscade of Lipan Apaches. He might have escaped, but to deliver a soldier, he begged the Indians to turn on him; but they killed him and his companion. He was the first Spanish Religious who died by the hands of Indians in that province. HAMMER, p. 72.

*APRIL 19. At Cicuyé (Pecos), New Mexico, the memory of Brother *Luis de Ubeda* (or *Escalona*), *O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was a member of the Mexican province of the Holy Gospel and accompanied Coronado on his march to the Northwest, together with Father Juan de Padilla and Father Juan de la Cruz. He was appointed to instruct the Indians at Cicuyé. When Coronado gave up New Mexico in disgust, Brother Luis remained at his pueblo, where the Indians had assigned him a little hut outside the village. From there he visited the neighboring pueblos. We do not know what happened to him, after the soldiers of Coronado had left, but it is Regarded as certain that he became a martyr about 1544.[4] PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.

[4] Brother Luis, by several authors, erroneously, is identified with Father Juan de la Cruz. They claim that Luis de Escalona (Ubeda) was called Juan de la Cruz in religion.

*APRIL 20. At St. Francis Xavier Mission, Green Bay, the memory of Brother *Louis Le Boesme, S. J.*, Martyr. Born at Saintes, France, August 25, 1632, he entered the Society of Jesus in the province of Toulouse, November 24, 1650. He arrived the second time in Canada, after his first vows, in 1656. He was given as a companion to the Indian missionary, Father Jean Injalran, S. J., and, according to Griffin's *Historical Researches* (July, 1907, p. 260), was martyred by the Winnebagos in 1687, near De Pere, Wisconsin. The *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. lxxi, p. 149, however, do not state that he died a martyr.

APRIL 26. At Massacre Island, Louisiana, the memory of Father *Jacques Gravier, S. J.*, Martyr. He was born at Moulins, France, May 17, 1651, joined the Jesuits at Paris, October 29, 1670, and came to Quebec on June 16, 1685. In 1686 he went to Michilimackinac and, when the Recollects withdrew from the West, he succeeded Allouez in the Illinois mission begun by Marquette. In December, 1690, he was appointed Vicar General by Bishop Vallier of Quebec and the Illinois mission was given to the Jesuits. He is the true founder of that mission, where he spent ten years of incredible hardship and suffering. He first reduced the Illinois language to grammatical rules. Kaskaskia and Peoria Indians he grouped near Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River and despite the machinations of the medicine men moulded his flock into a model Christian church. In 1699 he was recalled to Mackinaw, but in 1700 we find him at the mouth of the Mississippi. Returning north he met the Kaskaskias who were about to migrate to the French colonies on the Gulf, but he induced them to settle at the mouth of the Okaw river, at the place which now bears their name. In 1703 he returned to the Peorias, but, late in 1705 he was attacked by his own fickle flock, who discharged a shower of arrows at him. One flint-headed weapon pierced his ear, but another struck him at the elbow and could not be extracted. He sought relief at Mobile, even at Paris, France. On February 12, 1708, returning from Europe, he reached the roadstead at Isle Massacre, in Louisiana, where he died of his wounds, April 26, 1708. *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. lxxi, p. 156.

*MAY 1. At Quivira, Nebraska or Kansas, the memory of Father *Juan de Padilla, O. F. M.*, the Protomartyr of the United States of America. He was born in Andalusia, Spain. After a short military career he took the habit of St. Francis, came to Mexico and joined the province of the Holy Gospel at Mexico City. First he was military chaplain to the expedition of Nuño de Guzman to Nueva Galicia (1529–1531). Then he made missionary tours through Michoacan and Jalisco, until he was appointed guardian of the convents first at Tulantzinco (Hidalgo), then of Tzapotlan (Jalisco). In 1540, with Father Marcos de Niza and three other friars, he accompanied Coronado on his memorable march to the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola (Zuñi). From there, with Coronado, he penetrated as far north as Quivira, to the lower Loup River in Nebraska. When the general and his army in disgust abandoned New Mexico (1542) and returned to the Capital, Fathers Juan de Padilla and Juan de la Cruz, with the Brother Luis de Ubeda, resolved to remain and evangelize the Indians. Whilst the other friars stayed on the Rio Grande, Father de Padilla returned to Quivira, protected by only one soldier, the Portuguese Andrés del Campo, and two Mexican Tertiaries. He evangelized the Indians about the present town of St. Paul, Howard Co., Nebraska, with good success. When, however, Padilla, against the will of the Indians,

attempted the conversion of an hostile tribe, the Guas (Kaws, or Kansas), on his way south, he was attacked by a band of savages, somewhere in Hall Co., Nebraska. As he calmly knelt in prayer, they slew him, c. 1544. His companions escaped. Some believe that not St. Paul, Neb., but Junction City, Kansas, marks the site of Quivira and a monument has been erected there to Father Padilla. The Franciscan Juan de Padilla, buried in the church of Isleta, N. M., is not identical with this martyr of Quivira. ENGELHARDT, in the *Franciscan Herald*, May, 1919. *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. ii, 13 ss. READ, *History of New Mexico*, p. 165. CASTAÑEDA, in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, 1907.

MAY 11. At Candelaria, Texas, the memory of the Franciscan missionary *José Francisco de Ganzabal*, Martyr. He had charge of the mission of San Ildefonso (founded a. 1747). In 1752, on Ascension Day, May 11, he went to pass the festival with his fellow Religious at Candelaria. At nightfall three Fathers were in the little room at the mission and a Spaniard was standing at the door, when some Coco Indians fired and killed the Spaniard, who fell at the feet of one of the Fathers. The missionary hastened to aid him, but when Father de Ganzabal called out to learn who the assailants were, he received an arrow through his heart. HAMMER, p. 75.

*MAY 12. At Puaray, New Mexico, the memory of Father *Francisco Lopez, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was a native of Sevilla and, when 17 years old, took the habit of St. Francis at Xeres de la Frontera. As superior of the mission band of Brother Agustin Ruiz, he was sent to New Mexico in 1581. He set up his headquarters at Puaray, the principal town of the Tiguez Indians, opposite Bernalillo. The soldiers, under Chamuscado, having explored the neighborhood, returned to Mexico; the Friars, however, P. Lopez, P. Juan de S. Maria and Brother Ruiz remained at Puaray. In the spring following the departure of Father Juan, Father Lopez, while praying near the pueblo, was killed with two blows of a wooden warclub by a Tigua Indian in May, 1582. In February, 1614, his relics were found by P. Estévan de Perea, and transferred to the church of Sandía, where miracles are attributed to him. ENGELHARDT, in the *Franciscan Herald*, June and July, 1919. READ, *History of New Mexico*, pp. 168 ss.

*MAY 20. At the pueblo of Santiago, amongst the Tigua Indians, New Mexico, the memory of Brother *Augustin Rodriguez (Ruiz), O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was a native of Spain, had taken the habit in the province of the Holy Gospel at Mexico City, but asked to be transferred to the custody of San Francisco de Zacatecas, to teach catechism to the Indians and gain the crown of martyrdom. He was sent to the exposed mission of the valley of San Bartolo, in the vicinity of Allende (Chihuahua), where he led a life of austere asceticism. After having visited the Indians, north of the Rio Grande near El Paso, he organized a missionary band, consisting of Father Francisco Lopez, Father Juan de S. Maria and himself. They left the mines of S. Barbara, June 5, 1581. After Fathers Juan and Francisco had lost their lives, he also was killed by a Tehua Indian at Santiago near Puaray. The Indian threw his body into the river. READ, *History of New Mexico*, pp. 168 ss.

MAY 24. At Gran Quivira (Tabira), New Mexico, the memory of the Venerable servant of God, *Maria Jesus de Agreda*, Abbess of the Nuns of the Immacu-

late Conception at Agreda in Spain. In 1623 Father Juan de Salas, O. F. M., went to the Xumana Indians, New Mexico, to bear the light of the gospel to them. To his surprise he found the Xumanas familiar with the Christian doctrines; they declared that they had been instructed in the faith of Christ by a woman. When Father Alonzo de Benavides returned to Spain, he learnt at the convent of the Ven. Maria de Agreda that she had in ecstasy visited New Mexico and instructed Indians there. The Franciscan writers from this time speak of this marvelous conversion of the Xumanas by the instrumentality of Maria de Agreda, as a settled fact. The Xumana nation, since, has been wasted away by wars and absorbed in some one of the New Mexican tribes. The Venerable Maria de Jesus was born at Agreda, April 2, 1602, and took the veil of the Poor Clares in 1618. She died at Agreda, May 24, 1665. ENGELHARDT, in the *Franciscan Herald*, December, 1920, and January, 1921.

JUNE 4. At San Cristóval de Tanos, New Mexico, the memory of Fathers *José de Arbizu* and *Antonio Carbonel, O. F. M.*, Martyrs. In 1692 Don Diego de Vargas reasserted Spanish rule in New Mexico, where the churches had been destroyed and the missionaries martyred a.1680. But on June 4, 1696, the Taos, Picuries, Tehuas, Tanos, Queres and Jemes Indians again rose in rebellion. Their first act was to profane the churches, the next to butcher the missionaries. At San Cristóval de Tanos they killed Father Joseph and Father Antony, missionaries of the Taos. HAMMER, p. 59.

JUNE 5. Amongst the Jemes Indians in New Mexico, the memory of Father *Francis of Jesus Maria Casañas, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He had worked amongst the Asinais Indians in Texas, in 1690, and had been sent by the other missionaries to Mexico to obtain a regular establishment of the Texas mission by royal order (1692). At the reestablishment of the missions in New Mexico (1693) he accompanied the new custos, P. Salvador de San Antonio to Santa Fé and was sent to the pueblo of the Jemes. When, June 4, 1696, a rebellion broke out, he was lured out of the village by some pagans, under the pretext that a dying man wished a priest to hear his confession. Then the war chief of the pueblo and the interpreter killed him with their clubs, the holy missionary repeating the names of Jesus and Mary till he expired. HAMMER, p. 59.

JUNE 6. At Fort St. Charles, Minnesota, the memory of Father *Jean Pierre Aulneau, S. J.*, Martyr. Born in France, at Moutiers-sur-Hay, diocese of Luçon, April 25, 1705. He entered the Society, December 12, 1720, and arrived at Quebec, August 12, 1734. He was sent to the West to study the languages of the Cree and Assiniboin nations and to push on farther to the Mandan Indians. Father Aulneau reached the Lake of the Woods with the expedition of Pierre Gaulthier de Varennes de Laverendrye in the fall of 1735, and spent the winter in Fort Charles, which was built by Laverendrye on a stretch of land which now belongs to Minnesota. June 5, 1736, Laverendrye, dispatched to Mackinac three canoes, manned by his eldest son and 19 Frenchmen, to secure provisions and ammunition. Father Alneau was of the party. After one day's journey they were surprised by a party of Sioux Indians and cruelly murdered, on Massacre Island, in Canadian waters, to the southeast of Fort Charles, Their bodies were found September 17, 1736, and interred in the chapel of Fort Charles on September 18, of the same year. The remains of Father Alneau and his companions were discovered in the summer,

1908. *Hist. Records and Studies*, April, 1919, pp. 488ss. *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. lxxi, p. 170.[5]

JUNE 8. At San Ildefonso, New Mexico, the memory of Fathers *Francisco Corvera* and *Antonio Moreno, O. F. M.*, Martyrs. P. Corvera was missionary at San Ildefonso; P. Moreno from Nambé had come to visit him. During the night of June 4, 1696, the Tehua Indians closed up every window and opening of their cell, then set fire to the convent and the church, leaving the Religious to die suffocated by the smoke and heat. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.

JUNE 12. On the coast of Florida, south of Tampa Bay, the memory of Father *Diego de Peñalosa, O. P.*, Martyr. He had come to Florida with Fathers Cancer, Beteta and Garcia, in spring 1549. The vessel missed the Bay of Tampa; after searching for it a few days and landing from time to time the Fathers, at last, went ashore a few days before Pentecost and conferred with the natives. Whilst Father Cancer continued the journey towards the Bay, Father Diego with Fuentes, a pious Spaniard, and an Indian woman who had acted as interpreter, remained on shore. But the woman betrayed them and the missionary was killed as well as the layman "with all kinds of ceremony and addresses." *American Eccl. Review*, Vol. xxvii, p. 1902.

JUNE 21. At Detroit, Michigan, the memory of the Recollect Father *Nicholas Bernardin Constantin Delhalle*, Martyr, the first pastor of the first French town in the West. He arrived in Canada from France, June 1, 1696, and was assigned to the pastoral work at Longeuil and St. François de Sales. In the early summer of 1701 he accompanied La Motte Cadillac to the West. The latter founded Detroit (July 21, 1701) and Fort Pontchartrain; a chapel in honor of Ste. Anne, the mother church of the Northwest, was commenced on her feast-day, July 26, 1701. Father Delhalle served as chaplain to the troops (Aumonier of Fort Pontchartrain) and pastor of the French. In June, 1706, in consequence of the peculiar policy of Cadillac, hostilities broke out between the French and the Ottawas. As Father Delhalle, anxious to put an end to the slaughter, was entering the Fort, some Miamis joined him and the Ottawas opened fire on them. A ball struck Father Delhalle and he fell dead on the spot. He was interred in the church of Ste. Anne. HAMMER, p. 117. *American Hist. Researches*, Vol. xiii, p. 17.

JUNE 26. At Tampa Bay, Florida, the memory of Father *Luis Cancer de Barbastro, O. P.*, Martyr. He was a native of Saragossa, Spain, came to America in 1514, as superior of a band of Dominican missionaries and worked amongst the Indians of Vera Paz, in Central America. He composed many religious hymns in the Zapotec language. An ardent adherent of the Dominican Las Casas, he sided with him at the gathering, convoked by the Visitor Tello de Sandoval at Mexico (1546). Anxious to prove the efficacy of the methods proposed by Las Casas, he went to Spain and obtained there the grant of a vessel for his

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[5] Rev. J. J. Holzknecht in the *Hist. Researches*, July, 1907, and January, 1908, confounds Father Aulneau with P. Ignace Guignas, S. J., and claims that the latter was killed on a rocky little island in the Lake of Woods. P. Guignas, indeed, was tortured by the Indians and condemned to die at the stake, but was rescued by adoption. He still labored in his Dakota mission in 1736. SHEA, Vol i, p. 630. The article of Father Holzknecht in July, 1907, contains many errors. P. Gil de Bernave and P. Henry Ruhen were killed in Sonora, Mexico, not in Arizona, U. S. The Oblate Aubert is not a martyr of 1734, but an author of the 19th centtury. Brother LeMoyne, who, according to Rev. Holzknecht, was martyred in New York State in 1656, is Father Simon LeMoyne who was kept a prisoner by the Iroquois at Onondaga during the winter 1661 to 1662, but was set free and died in peace at Cape de la Madeleine, November 24, 1665.

pious mission in Florida. He sailed from Vera Cruz with P. Diego de Peñalosa, P. Gregorio de Beteta and P. Juan Garcia, in spring, 1549. Father Diego was killed somewhere south of the Bay of Tampa, by the Calusas. Still Father Cancer, having found the bay itself, resolved to remain and preach to the Indians. He landed on June 26, with the other Fathers. When near the shore, he sprang out and, not heeding the remonstrances of his friends, proceeded up the steep bank. A crowd soon gathered around and a heavy blow of a club stretched him lifeless on the shore, June 26, 1549. In an instant the savages had covered him with mortal wounds and rushing to the water's edge drove back the rest with a shower of arrows. LOWERY, *Spanish Settlements within the U. S.* New York, 1901.

JUNE 28. At Aguatuvi, Arizona, the memory of Father *Francisco de Porras, O. F. M.*, the protomartyr of Arizona. Born at Villanueva de los Infantes in Spain, he received the habit of St. Francis at the convent of San Francisco at Mexico, September 12, 1606. In 1623 he was appointed master of novices, which office he held for five years. He then asked to be sent to the Indians. In 1628 he left the motherhouse together with P. Andrés Gutierrez and Brother Cristóval de la Concepcion. On August 20, 1628, they founded the mission of San Bernardo amongst the Moquis; in a few years they converted 800 Indians. P. Porras was poisoned by the medicine men and died at Aguatuvi in the arms of P. Francisco de San Buenaventura, June 28, 1633. Probably also P. Andrés and the Brother were killed. ENGELHARDT, *Franciscans in Arizona*, p. 23.

JULY 17. At Purisima Concepcion (Fort Yuma, California), the memory of the Franciscan Fathers *Francisco Hermenegildo Garcés* and *Juan Barreneche*, Martyrs. Father Garcés, a famous explorer and missionary, had been superior at S. Xavier del Bac, Arizona; he first visited the Yuma country in 1768. He was the first Spaniard to penetrate to the Mojave Indians (1776) in long journeys through the wilderness. On July 17, 1781, he was massacred with the youthful Father Juan Barreneche, 20 colonists, 12 laborers and 21 soldiers, at Purisima Concepcion, a new mission, by the Yuma Indians. ENGELHARDT, *California Missions.*

JULY 17. On the same day at San Pedro y Pablo de Biscuña in California, the memory of the Franciscan Fathers *Juan Diaz* and *Matias Moreno*, Martyrs. When a. 1781 Father Garcés undertook the establishment of a regular mission amongst the Yumas, these two fathers accompanied him to the mouth of the Gila and were appointed to the new pueblo of San Pedro y Pablo, eight miles southwest of Concepcion. They were killed by the Yumas on the same day with Father Garcés, July 17, 1781. ENGELHARDT, *California Missions.*

*JULY 20. Near the Rio Grande in Texas the memory of Father *Silva, O. F. M.*, Martyr. Father Silva worked amongst the Apaches but the friendly intercourse between the Franciscans and the Apaches, aroused hostile feelings among the Texas tribes in the missions, who regarded the Apaches as their natural enemies. Therefore a party of mission Indians killed Father Silva, about 1758. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. x, p. 391.

AUGUST 6. In the city of Mexico the memory of the venerable servant of God, Father *Antonio Margil, O. F. M.*, the Apostle of Texas. Born at Valencia, Spain, August 18, 1657, he entered the Franciscan Order in his native city, April 22, 1673. He arrived at Vera Cruz on June 6, 1683. Attached to the college of Queretaro, he preached missions all over the country, in Yucatan, Costa Rica,

Nicaragua and Guatemala. He always walked barefooted, fasted every day of the year, never used meat or fish and applied instruments of penance to himself unmercifully. June 25, 1706, he was appointed first guardian of the newly erected convent of Guadalupe, Zacatecas. In 1716 he led a band of three fathers and two lay brothers into Texas and founded the missions of Guadalupe among the Nacogdoches, Dolores amongst the Ays and San Miguel amongst the Adays. When the French destroyed these missions, Father Margil withdrew to the Rio San Antonio and remained near the present city of San Antonio for more than a year. He then returned with his friars to the scene of his former activities, restored the missions and even gave his attention to the French settlers in Louisiana. In 1722 he was recalled to Zacatecas, but later on resumed missionary work in Mexico. He died in the city of Mexico, at the convent of San Francisco, in the odor of sanctity, August 6, 1726. Pope Gregory XVI in 1836 declared Father Margil's virtues heroic. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. ix, p. 657. VILAPLANA, *Vida del V. P. Fr. Antonio Margil*, Madrid, 1775.

AUGUST 7. At Hawikuh (Zuñi) in New Mexico the memory of Father *Pedro de Avila y Ayalá, O. F. M.*, Martyr. When the Apache Indians attacked the Zuñi pueblo of Hawikuh, August 7, 1670, this pious missionary won a martyr's crown. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. xiv, *s. v*, Zuñi.

*AUGUST 9. Near New Orleans, La. the memory of Father *Jean Daniel Testu*, Martyr. He was a native of Cape-Saint-Ignace, Canada, was ordained in 1689 and went to join Father François Jolliet de Martigny of the Quebec Seminary, in 1712, when the latter took up the mission field in the Mississippi Valley. Father Testu founded a mission amongst the Choctaws in Louisiana in 1713. In August, 1718, on their way to Mobile, he and his party, while cabining at night on the shore, were attacked by Indians. At the first volley Father Testu received a fatal wound. His age is given as fifty. *Catalogue of the Indian Missionaries*, written by Vicar General Noiseux of Quebec and sent to Bishop Rosati of St. Louis by Bishop Signey of Quebec. (V. Jean Dequerre, November 10.) SHEA, *Missions*, p. 450. Charlevoix does not mention Father Testu, nor James Mooney in his article on the Choctaw Indians, in the *Cath. Encycl.* Probably he is a double of Father Saint-Côme.

AUGUST 10. At the Tesuque pueblo, New Mexico, the memory of Father *Juan Bautista de Pio, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was a native of Victoria, Spain, and was attached to the mission church of Santa Fé, New Mexico. On the morning of August 10, 1680, he had gone to Tesuque to say Mass, when the revolt of El Popé broke out. Father Pio was killed by the Indians, the first victim of the revolution. His Mass server, the soldier Pedro Hidalgo, escaped PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches.*

AUGUST 10. At the Tano pueblo of Santa Cruz de Galisteo, New Mexico, the memory of the Franciscan Fathers *Juan Bernal* and *Juan Domingo de Vera*, Martyrs. Father Juan was custodio of the missions of New Mexico, when the great insurrection of 1680 broke out. The plot was conceived by the Tejuan Indian El Popé (Poc-pec) who had been pursued by the Spaniards for committing murders and instigating the Indians to revive their old pagan rites. Father Bernal had been warned by the Tanos of San Cristóval and San Lázaro, but the Spanish governor took measures to prevent the revolt, when it was too late. Three hundred and eighty Spaniards, men, women and children, were killed, all the churches and Spanish settlements destroyed and every vestige of Christianity stamped out amongst the Zuñis, Moquis, Návajos, Taos

Picuries and Tejuas. Both Father Bernal and Father de Vera were natives of Mexico City.

AUGUST 10. At the Convent of Porciuncula, amongst the Pecos Indians in New Mexico, the memory of Father *Fernando de Velasco, O. F. M.*, Martyr. Juan Yé, the chief of the Pecos, communicated to the authorities the plans of El Popé to exterminate all the Spaniards. Finding his advice unheeded, he told Father Fernando: "Father, the people are going to rise and kill the Spaniards and missionaries. Decide then, whether you wish to go and I will send warriors with you and protect you." Thereupon Father Fernando hurried to warn Father Bernal at Galisteo, but was overtaken by the Indians and shot to death with arrows, at daybreak, August 10, 1680. He was a native of Cadiz and had served in the Mission of New Mexico for thirty years. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches.*

AUGUST 10. At the Tehua pueblo of Nambé, New Mexico, the memory of the Franciscan missionary Father *Tomás de Torres.* He was a native of Tepozotlan, México. He was killed at the outbreak of the insurrection of El Popé, August 10, 1680. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches.*

AUGUST 10. In the pueblo of the Tanos Indians, New Mexico, the memory of Father *Simon de Jesus, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He had served the Tanos for fourscore years. Seeing the talent, intelligence and apparent piety of an Indian boy, Frasquillo, he devoted his time to the education of the youth. Frasquillo learned to read and write Spanish fluently; he became a good Latinist and the chants and services of the Church were familiar to him. When, however, August 10, 1680, the revolt broke out under El Popé, Frasquillo entered ardently into it and slew with his own hands the priest who had done so much to elevate him. The Tanos hailed the young monster as their king. ESPINOSA, *Cronica Apostolica*, Vol. i, p. 284. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches.*

AUGUST 10. At the pueblo of San Lorenzo de Picuries, New Mexico, the memory of Father *Matias de Rendon, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was a native of Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico, and was killed by his own fickle flock during the revolt of El Popé, in August, 1680. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches.*

AUGUST 11. At San Diego de los Jemes, New Mexico, the memory of the Franciscan missionary *Juan de Jesus*, Martyr. He was a native of Granada, Spain. He had worked amongst his people for nine years, when the Indian revolt of El Popé broke out. P. Juan was stripped, tied on a hog and chased through the pueblo amid the curses and blows of the rabble. Then they sat upon him and made him carry them around on all fours, until he sank lifeless, on August 11, 1680. His relics were taken, August 8, 1694, by Governor de Vargas, and deposited in the church of San Francisco at Santa Fé, August 11, 1694. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches.*

AUGUST 11. At the Indian pueblo San Esteban de Acoma in New Mexico the memory of Father *Lucas Maldonado, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was killed by his Indians during the revolt of El Popé, August, 1680. He was a native of Tribugena, Spain, and held the office of Definidor actual. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches.*

AUGUST 11. At the pueblo Purisima Concepcion de Alona, New Mexico, the memory of Father *Juan de Val, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was a native of Castile, Spain. After having worked at Alona for nine years, he was killed by the Zuñi Indians, during the insurrection of El Popé, in August, 1680. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches.*

AUGUST 11. At the pueblo of San Geronimo de Taos, New Mexico, the memory of Father *Antonio Mora* and the lay brother *Juan de Pedrosa, O. F. M.*, Martyrs. Father Mora had been in service amongst the Taos, for nine years. He was a native of Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico. Brother de Pedrosa was born in Mexico City. They gave their lives for Christ during the insurrection of the Indian El Popé against the Spaniards, in August, 1680. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches.*

AUGUST 11. At the Indian pueblo of San Ildefonso, New Mexico, the memory of Father *Luis de Morales, O. F. M.*, and the lay brothers *Antonio Sanchez de Pró* and *Luis de Baeza*, Martyrs. Father Morales was born at Ubeda, Spain Brother de Pró was a native of Mexico City; he had joined the Discalced Carmelites, but had gone over to the Observants of St. Francis, in order to be able to go to the missions in New Mexico. The three friars were killed at San Ildefonso during the revolt of El Popé, in August, 1680. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches.*

AUGUST 11. At San Marcos pueblo, New Mexico, the memory of the Franciscan Father *Manuel de Tinoco*, Martyr. He was killed during the Indian revolt of El Popé, in August, 1680. He had joined the Order of St. Francis in the province of San Miguel de Estremadura. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches.*

AUGUST 12. At San Bernardo de Aguatuvi, Arizona, the memory of Father *José de Figueras, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was born in the city of Mexico and came to Arizona in 1674; there he served the Hopi pueblo of Aguatuvi, 26 miles from the Zuni pueblos. When the Indians rose against the Spaniards in August 1680, he foretold them that within three years they would be at war with each other. He was killed with clubs and stones and his body thrown into a cave. ENGELHARDT, *Franciscans in Arizona*, p. 24.

AUGUST 12. At the pueblo of San Bartolmé de Xongopavi (Xenopoli) in Arizona, the memory of Father *José de Trujillo, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was born at Cadiz, Spain and joined the Franciscans in 1634. First he was sent to the Philippine Islands, then to Mexico. There he was named prior of the convent of San Cosmé without the walls of Mexico City. At last he went to the missions of New Mexico. He worked in the Hopi pueblo of San Bartolmé, seven leagues from Aguatuvi. His own Indians killed him during the insurrection of El Popé, in August, 1680. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches.*

AUGUST 12. At the pueblo of Santo Domingo, New Mexico, the memory of the Franciscan missionaries *P. Juan Talaban, Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana* and *Juan Montesdoca*, Martyrs. Father Talaban was a native of Sevilla, Spain, and had worked in the missions of New Mexico for twenty years; he had been custodio of the missions. Father de Lorenzana was born in Galicia, Spain, P. Montesdoca at Querétaro, Mexico. During the great Indian revolt of El Popé, in August, 1680, the three priests were locked up in their house by the Indians who set fire to it, thus stifling and burning the friars. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches.*

AUGUST 12. In the country of the Zuñi Indians, New Mexico, the memory of the Franciscan Fathers *Lorenzo Analisa, Juan Espinosa* and *Sebastian Casalda*, Martyrs. They were stripped, stoned, and at last shot to death in the public place. Their bodies were buried in the ruins of the church. HAMMER, *Die Franziskaner in den Ver. Staaten Nordamerikas*, p. 45. Shea does not mention these martyrs, nor PRINCE, (*Spanish Mission Churches*), but they are given in the list of Archbishop Salpointe, *Hist. Researches*, January 1907, p. 76.

AUGUST 14. On the Menominee River, in Wisconsin, the memory of the Jesuit Father *René Menard*, Martyr. He was born at Paris, March 2, 1605, and arrived at Quebec, July 8, 1640. He was assigned to work amongst the Hurons. After the destruction of the Huron mission (1649), he was sent to the Cayugas, in the Iroquois country (New York State), where, for the first three months, he was brutally treated, but succeeded in gaining the confidence of the savages. When the Iroquois mission was interrupted, he went to Three Rivers, but in 1695 started with 300 Ottawas for the far west. He reached the shores of Lake Superior in 1660 and endeavored to establish a mission in Keweenaw, Mich. From Keweenaw he set out to visit other tribes. On his way to the Hurons on Noquet Island at the mouth of the Menominee River, he was separated from his companion, a French blacksmith; he lost his way in the forests and was never heard of again. He was murdered by a roving band of Sioux, probably at the first rapids of the Menominee, near the present city of Crystal Falls, about August 4, 1661. *Cath. Encycl.*, x, p. 178. *Hist. Researches*, July, 1910, p. 246. *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. lxxi, p. 144.

AUGUST 23. At Norridgewock Mission, Maine, the memory of Father *Sebastien Râle* (*Rasle*) *S. J.*, Martyr. Born at Pontarlier, France, January 4, 1657, he entered the Jesuit novitiate at Dôle, September 24, 1675. His theology he finished at Lyons in 1688 and arrived at Quebec, October 13, 1689. His first missionary work was in an Abenaki village near Quebec; next he labored in the Illinois country for two years. In 1694 he was sent to the Abenaki mission on the Kennebec. The colonists of New England regarded with suspicion and hatred the arrival of a Frenchman in the midst of savages who were hostile to the English. Hence the Indian outrages perpetrated on the eastern frontier of New England during Râle's long residence among the Abenakis were attributed to him. In 1705 the English burned his church at Norridgewock. When the territory in 1713 was ceded to England, Râle remained and rebuilt his church. After having escaped from an attack of the New Englanders in 1722, he was surprised by another expedition in August, 1724; he, with several chiefs and many of his flock, was killed, scalped and hacked to pieces by the Mohawk allies of the English, August 23, 1724. His Abenaki dictionary is preserved at Harvard College and was published in 1833. *Cathl. Encycl.* Vol. xii, p. 635. *Records* of the Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc., Vol. xviii; *Hist. Researches*, January, 1908, 33.

AUGUST 28. In Monterey, Cal., the memory of the servant of God, Father *Junipero Serra, O. F. M.*, the Apostle of California. He was born at Petra, Isle of Majorca, November 24, 1713. On September 14, 1730, he joined the Franciscans, taught philosophy at Palma and attached himself to the missionary college of San Fernando, Mexico, in 1749. For nine years he served at the Sierra Gorda Indian missions, north of Querétaro. Recalled to Mexico he became famous as a preacher of missions. In 1767 he was appointed superior of a band of 15 Franciscans for the Indian missions of Lower California, but in 1769 he accompanied Portolá's land expedition to Upper California. He arrived at San Diego on July 1, 1769, and on July 16 founded the first of the twenty-one California missions which accomplished the conversion of all the natives on the coast as far as Sonoma to the north. In 1778 he received the faculty to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. He confirmed 5,309 persons, who, with but few exceptions, were Indians converted during the fourteen years from 1770. Besides extraordinary fortitude, his most conspicuous virtues were insatiable zeal, love of mortification, self-denial

and absolute confidence in God. He died at Monterey, Cal., August 28, 1784. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. xiii, p. 730. *Hist. Records and Studies*, vii, 168. ENGELHARDT, *Missions in California*.

*AUGUST 31. At the Hopi pueblo of San Francisco de Oraibe, in Arizona, the memory of the Franciscan Fathers *José de Espeleta* and *Augustin a S. Maria*, Martyrs. P. Augustin was a native of Patzcuaro, Mexico, and came to Arizona in 1674. Espeleta was born at Estela in Navarra; he had been custodio of the missions and had spent thirty years there. Both were killed during the revolt of El Popé, in August, 1680. Before P. Espeleta was massacred, the Indians kept him as a slave, like a beast of burden, an object of ridicule for old and young. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.

SEPTEMBER 9. On the Illinois River the memory of the Recollect Father *Gabriel de la Ribourde*, Martyr. He was the last scion of a noble Burgundian house; he renounced the world and its honors to enter the Order of St. Francis, and then, when advanced in years, renounced the comforts of Europe for the wilds of Canada. He came to Quebec in August, 1670, and soon became Commissary or Superior of his Order in the colony. Sent by his successor to Fort Frontenac, near the present city of Kingston, he was assigned as superior to La Salle's party. Later on he remained with Tonti at Fort Crevecoeur, evangelizing the Indians. When Tonti and his party gave up and destroyed the Fort, they set out in a wretched canoe to reach Green Bay. While Tonti and Father Membré, next day, were busy repairing the canoe, Father Gabriel retired apart to say his breviary. While thus engaged, he was met by a party of Kikapoos, out against the Iroquois, who ruthlessly murdered him and threw his body into a hole, September 9, 1681, in the seventieth year of his age. HAMMER, p. 111.

SEPTEMBER 10. Near the Tigua pueblo of Chilili, New Mexico, the memory o Father *Juan de Santa Maria, O. F. M.* He was a Catalan, joined the Franciscans at Mexico and, when still a young man, set out for the pueblos of New Mexico, from the Santa Barbara Mines, Chihuahua, on June 5, 1581. With him were Father Francisco Lopez, the superior, and Brother Augustin Ruiz (Rodriguez), the organizer of the expedition. They were protected by eight soldiers under Francisco Chamuscado, and six Mexican Indians. They visited the pueblos of the Piros, Tigua and Queres nations. When the party arrived amongst the Tano Indians at the pueblo of Galisteo, Father Juan became anxious to return to Mexico to render a report, in order that more priests might be sent to the mission. He started alone from the Sandía mountains, trusting to his knowledge of the stars, but on his way, on the third day, he was killed under a huge stone by a party of roving Indians, near Chilili, Bernalillo Co., on September 10, 1581. *Cath. Historical Review*, October, 1920, pp. 308ss.

*SEPTEMBER 11. Near Fort Adams, Mississippi, the memory of Father *Nicolas Foucault*, the first martyr of the Seminary of Quebec. He was born in Paris and ordained at Quebec, December 3, 1689. For ten years pastor at Batiscan, he was impelled by zeal for the missions to follow Montigny, and set out for the Mississippi in 1701. He had already accomplished much good amongst the Arkansas, when, in 1702, he set out for Mobile with his servant and two Frenchmen. They took as guides two Indians of the Koroa tribe, akin to the Arkansas. Led by hopes of plunder, or instigated by hatred, these treacherous savages murdered the whole party near the Tonica villages, in September, 1702. Father Antoine Davion at the time was ascending the Mississippi and discovered on the banks of the river the bodies of these victims of Indian ferocity. He interred them with the rites of the Church. SHEA, Vol. i, p. 445.

SEPTEMBER 13. At St. Augustine, Florida, the memory of the holy Martyr *Pedro de Corpa, O. F. M.* In 1593 sent to the province of Guala in Florida, he established a neophyte village amongst the Timucua Indians at Tolemato (now the cemetry of St. Augustine), but when he publicly reproved the profligate son of the Cazique who had fled from Guala island to the pagans of Tolomato, he was killed by the young man's partisans whilst kneeling before the altar in September, 1597. His head was severed from the body and set on a spear over the gate. HAMMER, p. 17.

SEPTEMBER 14. At St. Augustine, Florida, the memory of Father *Juan de Silva O. F. M.*, Martyr. In 1593 he was sent as superior of a band of twelve Franciscan missionaries to work amongst the Timucua and Yamassee tribes on the lower St. John River and the islands on the southern coast of Georgia. He established regular villages of neophytes around St. Augustine, but was killed during the Indian conspiracy of September, 1597. HAMMER, p. 17.

SEPTEMBER 15. On St. Simon's Island, Glynn Co., Georgia, the memory of the Martyr *Francisco de Velascola*, Franciscan Priest. Sent to Florida in 1593 he formed a village of neophytes at Asao, on St. Simon's Island, Georgia. He was killed by the insurgent Yamassee Indians in September, 1597, whilst returning from his church. HAMMER, p. 17.

SEPTEMBER 16. At Toboqui in Florida, the memory of the Franciscan Father *Blas Rodriguez*, Martyr. He came to St. Augustine, Florida, in 1593, with Father Juan de Silva and established a village of neophytes at Toboqui near St. Augustine. He was killed in the chapel of Our Lady of the Milk after Mass, by the insurgent Yamassee Indians from Tolemato, in September, 1597. HAMMER, p. 17.

SEPTEMBER 17. On Amelia Island, Nassau Co., Florida, the memory of the Franciscan Father *Miguel de Auñon* and the laybrother *Antonio de Badajoz*, Martyrs. Father Miguel was sent to Florida a. 1593, with Father Juan de Silva, O. F. M. He established himself at Asopo on Amelia Island to the north of St. Augustine and was killed with clubs by the insurgent Yamassee Indians before the altar, together with the laybrother Antonio de Badajoz, in September, 1597. Their bodies were raised a. 1605 and buried at St. Augustine. HAMMER, p. 17.

SEPTEMBER 23. At Andagaron, on the Mohawk River, N. Y., the memory of the Venerable Servant of God, *René Goupil, S. J.*, Martyr. He was a native of Angers, France, b. in 1607. Because ill health prevented him from joining the Society of Jesus, he attached himself to the Canada mission as a donné. After serving two years as physician and surgeon in the hospitals of Canada, he became the companion of Father Jogues and as such started with him to the Huron mission in 1642. Captured by the Iroquois near Lake St. Peter, like the other prisoners, he was beaten, his nails were torn out and his finger joints cut off. Brought to Ossernenon and Andagaron, he was repeatedly tortured. At last, because he taught the Indian children the sign of the Cross, he was felled to the ground by a hatchet blow by an Indian; he expired invoking the Name of Jesus, September 23, 1642. During his captivity, in August, he had bound himself to the Society of Jesus, pronouncing the religious vows in presence of Father Jogues; the latter called Goupil "an angel of innocence." MARTIN, *Issac Jogues*, Paris, 1882, *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. vi, p. 684.

SEPTEMBER 28. On Cumberland Island, Georgia, the memory of Father *Pedro Martinez*, the protomartyr of the Jesuits in the United States. He was born at Celda, diocese of Saragossa (or at Teruel?), Spain, on October 15, 1533. In

1553 he joined the Jesuits at Valencia; with Fathers Juan Rogel and Francisco Villareal, he was sent to America by S. Francis Borgia, in June, 1566. He was a man of great learning, deep humility and fervent zeal. Driven by a storm to the coast of Georgia, he landed with a few companions, but his ship was thrown back to the high sea by the heavy waves. Whilst he tried to reach Florida on foot, he was killed by the natives on the isle of Tacatacuru (Cumberland), about September 28, 1566. *Hist. Records and Studies*, December, 1904, p. 352.

SEPTEMBER 29. At De Pere, Wisconsin, the memory of *two Jesuit Fathers*, Martyrs. These martyrs may not be a product of fiction. In 1765 they are said to have been killed by the Winnebagoes; but they cannot be identified. They are believed to have been the last Jesuit missionaries in the Mission of Wisconsin. The two Fathers, then at Michilimackinac, were Pierce Du Jaunay and Louis Marin Le Franc. But these cannot have been the martyrs, since they died in peace at Quebec, Du Jaunay on July 16, 1780, Le Franc on May 25, 1776. *Hist. Researches*, July, 1907, p. 260; *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. lxxi, p. 171.

*SEPTEMBER 30. At Saint-Sauveur, on Mount Desert Island, Maine, the memory of the Jesuit Brother *Gilbert Du Thet*, Martyr. The Jesuit Fathers Quentin, Masse and Briard, in June, 1613, established a peaceful settlement for the conversion of Indians on Soames Sound, Mt. Dessert Island. The post was destroyed by the English under Captain Argal of Virginia, in September, 1613; Brother Du Thet[6] was killed, the Fathers were carried to Virginia as prisoners. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. xii, p. 287; *Hist. Records and Studies*, December, 1904, p. 365; *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. lxxi, 137.

OCTOBER 4. At New Orleans, La., the memory of the Venerable Servant of God, Father *Francis Seelos, C. SS. R.* Born at Fuessen, Bavaria, he pursued his studies at Augsburg and Munich and entered the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, offering himself for the American mission. He arrived in America, April 17, 1843, made his profession at Baltimore, May 16, 1844, and was ordained seven months later by Archbishop Eccleston. He was assigned first to St. James, Baltimore, then, in May, 1845, to Pittsburgh; in 1851 he was appointed superior of the Pittsburgh community, where he labored for 9 years. His confessional was constantly besieged by crowds of people of every description. It was said by many that he could read their very souls. At Baltimore he was prefect of the professed students. In 1860 his name was proposed for the vacant see of Pittsburgh, but he humbly refused. In 1866 he was summoned to Detroit and in September of the same year to New Orleans, La. There he died, October 4, 1867. The cause of his beatification is in progress. *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. xiii, p. 681.

OCTOBER 12. At the Indian mission of Santa Cruz, California, the memory of Father *Andrés Quintana, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was a powerful man physically and fearless withal, but full of tenderness and solicitude towards his neophytes. In spite of his charity towards the natives, he was waylaid and killed in the most diabolical manner by his own mission Indians, October 12, 1812. ENGELHARDT, *California Missions*, Vol. iii, p. 12.

OCTOBER 15. At Perryville, Missouri, the memory of the Venerable Servant of God, Father *Felix DeAndreis, C. M.*, Vicar General of the Diocese of Louisiana, and first Superior of the Congregation of the Mission in the United States. Born at DeMonte in Piemont, Italy, December 13, 1778, he entered the Congrega-

[6] He came from the Province of France and had arrived at Quebec, January 23, 1612.

tion of the Mission (Lazarists) at Mondovi, November 1, 1795, and was ordained at Piacenza, August 14, 1801. From 1810, at Monte Citorio, Rome, he was constantly engaged in giving missions and retreats for the clergy or the seminarists. It was no unusual thing for him to preach four times a day on different subjects. In 1815 Pius VII appointed him for the missions of Bishop Dubourg in Louisiana; his party reached Baltimore on July 26, 1816. Until Bishop Dubourg arrived, Father DeAndreis taught theology at St. Thomas Seminary, Kentucky. Then he directed the novitiate of the Congregation in the Bishop's residence at St. Louis, where he died October 15, 1820. He was buried at the Seminary church at Perryville, Mo. His zeal and strenuous life as well as the hardships of missionary work in America had exhausted his weak constitution. His process of beatification has been begun by the Roman authorities. *Life of the Very Rev. Felix de Andreis, C. M.*, St. Louis, 1900.

October 18. At Ossernenon, near Auriesville, N. Y. the memory of the Venerable Servant of God, Father *Isaac Jogues, S. J.*, Martyr. Born at Orleans, France, January 10, 1607, he entered the Society of Jesus at Paris October 24, 1624, and was sent to Canada in 1636. From Quebec he went to the regions around the great lakes where the illustrious Father Brebeuf and others were laboring. He penetrated as far as Sault-Ste.-Marie. August 3, 1642, near Three Rivers he was taken prisoner by the Iroquois and, after being cruelly tortured, carried to the Indian village of Ossernenon (Auriesville) on the Mohawk, about 40 miles above the present city of Albany. When, after 13 months of slavery, he was about to be burnt at the stake, he was freed by the Dutch and conveyed to France. There he was received with great honors at court. In 1644, he returned to Canada and, in 1646, negotiated peace with the Indians at Ossernenon. On September 27, 1646 he began his third and last journey to the Mohawk. The superstitious Indians however ascribed to him the double calamity of a contagious fever and of a blight which had fallen on their crops. They determined to wreak vengeance on him and sent warriors to capture him. The Iroquois met him near Lake George, stripped him naked, slashed him with their knives and then, with a faithful layman, Jean Lalande, led him to the village. On October 18, 1646, when entering a cabin, he was struck with a tomahawk and afterwards decapitated. The heads of Father Jogues and of Lalande were fixed on the palisades, the bodies thrown into the Mohawk. The Fathers of the third National Council petitioned the Apostolic See for his beatification. *Cathl. Encyclopedia*, vol. viii, p. 420.

October 18. At St. Charles, Missouri, the memory of the servant of God, Madame *Philippine Rose Duchesne*, Virgin, foundress, in America, of the first houses of the Society of the Sacred Heart. Born at Grenoble, France, August 29, 1769, she was educated by the Visitation Nuns, entered that Order, saw its dispersion during the Reign of Terror and vainly attempted the reestablishment of the convent of Sainte-Marie d'en-Haut, near Grenoble. Finally, in 1804, she accepted the offer of Mother Barat, to incorporate her community into the Society of the Sacred Heart. In 1818 Mother Duchesne set out with four companions for the missions of America. Bishop Dubourg welcomed her to New Orleans, whence she sailed up the Mississippi to St. Louis, finally settling her little community at St. Charles. Cold, hunger and illness, opposition, ingratitude and calumny served only to fire her lofty and indomitable spirit with new zeal. Having founded the new houses at Florissant, Grand Coteau, New

Orleans, St. Louis and St. Michel, La., she yearned to teach the poor Indians. Old and broken as she was, she went to labor amongst the Pottowatomies at Sugar Creek, Kansas. But one year later she returned to St. Charles and died October 18, 1852. Preliminary steps for her beatification have been taken. BAUNARD, *Histoire de Mme. Duchesne*, Paris, 1878.

*OCTOBER 25. AtOnondaga, New York, the memory of *Stephen te Ganonakoa*, Martyr. He was a native of Onondaga, but, to insure the liberty of practicing his religion, had, with his family, retired to Caughnawaga, Canada. While hunting, in September, 1690, he was surprised by a Cayuga party and conducted to Onondaga. He was forced to run the gauntlet and undergo the usual fiendish tortures. He next suffered the torture of fire; and, triumphing over all was at last bound to the stake. Yet all their cruelty could not wring a sigh from the Indian hero who stood motionless, his eyes raised to heaven. At last he chanted aloud his dying prayer, a prayer for his torturers, who in a few moments completed their work. SHEA, *Missions*, p, 322.

NOVEMBER 4. At San Diego, California, the memory of Father *Luis Jayme, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He arrived at San Diego, with nine other Fathers, March 12, 1771. The Fathers had been fairly successful in their efforts to win the savages from paganism; this provoked the sorcerers and other chief men to conspire against their lives. During the night preceding the 4th of November, 1775, about one thousand armed Diegueño Indians surrounded the mission, looted the sacristy and storehouse and then set fire to the buildings. Father Luis Jayme and José Romero, the blacksmith, were killed. Father Luis was the first martyr of the California mission. ENGELHARDT, Vol. ii, p. 169.

NOVEMBER 5. At Nacagdoches, Texas, the memory of the Franciscan Father *Antonio Dias de Leon*, Martyr. He was from the Franciscan College of Zacatecas, Mexico, known for his virtues and merits. He had been on the mission at San José, from 1820 to 1823 and had acted as chaplain to the troops. For ten years he was at Nacagdoches mission and had given offence to no one. Turbulent American frontiersmen and their itinerant ministers, ignorant, prejudiced and full of animosity against the Church, killed him secretly November 4 or 5, 1834. SHEA, Vol. iii, p. 712.

*NOVEMBER 10. In Illinois the memory of Father *Jean Dequerre* (*Dequen*?) *S. J.*, Martyr. According to an unreliable report he came from the Lake Superior region to the Illinois country in 1653 and established a mission somewhere near the present city of Peoria. In 1660 he went to visit a tribe west from the Illinois river, but was killed by the savages in 1661.[7] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. iii, p. 90 ss.

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[7] The name of Father Dequerre is the first in a list of Missionaries, employed in the Mission of Illinois and the Mississippi. It was composed in Latin by Msgr. Noiseux, Grand Vicaire of Quebec. This list, upon request, was sent to Bishop Rosati of St. Louis by Rt. Rev. Jos. Signay, Bishop of Quebec, March 5, 1834. Also Bishop Brutè of Vincennes obtained a copy from Quebec. Father Noiseux himself acknowledges that his list contains numerous inaccuracies, being taken from "manuscripts written on greasy paper, with ink made of gunpowder." Consequently J. Gilmary Shea discountenances the reliability of Noiseux and denies the very existence of P. Dequerre. Judge John Law of Evansville, Ind., however, in a series of articles (*Catholic Telegraph*, 1855) defends the Canadian Vicar General against Shea. He claims, that probably the Jesuits, before Marquette, discovered the Mississippi, reaching the Cahokia Indians overland, through the present State of Illinois. Rev. E. Saulnier, chancellor to Archb. Kendrick of St. Louis, in 1855, says "Noiseux may be a good authority in spite of Mr. Shea." A copy of the list is found in the archives of St. Louis Chancery Office.

NOVEMBER 22. At Santa Clara, California, the memory of the venerable servant of God, the Franciscan missionary *Magin Catald, O. F. M.* He was born at Montblanch, Catalonia, Spain. He received the habit of St. Francis at Barcelona, April 4, 1777, and was ordained priest in 1785. In October, 1786, he sailed from Caviz and joined the famous missionary College San Fernando in the City of Mexico. In 1794 he was sent to the Indian mission of Santa Clara in California, where, in company with Father José Viader, he labored most zealously for 36 years. All through his life Father Catalá suffered intensely from inflammatory rheumatism; in his last years he could neither walk nor stand unassisted. He, nevertheless, visited the sick and preached in Indian and Spanish while seated in a chair at the altar rail. Despite his infirmities he observed the rule strictly, used the discipline and penitential girdle and never used meat, fish, eggs or wine. The venerable missionary was famed far and wide for his miracles and prophecies, as well as for his virtues. He died at Santa Clara, November 22, 1830. In 1884 Archbishop Alemany instituted the process of his beatification. ENGELHARDT, *The Holy Man of Santa Clara*, San Francisco, 1909.

NOVEMBER 25. At Pecos, Texas, the memory of Father *Juan de la Cruz, O. F. M.*, Martyr. With Brother Luis de Ubeda he had accompanied Father Juan de Padilla, when Coronado went to the Northwest to find the legendary Seven Cities of Cibola. The adventurous explorer, Coronado, returned to Mexico, but the Franciscans remained with the Indians. After having labored for some time amongst the Tiguex on the Rio Grande, Father Juan de Padilla went to Quivira in the Northeast and left Father Juan de la Cruz to instruct the Tiguex. The latter fell a victim to the ferocity of the Indians November 25, 1544. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches*.

NOVEMBER 28. At Natchez, Mississippi, the memory of Father *Paul Du Poisson S. J.*, Martyr. He was a native of Epinay, France, where he was born January 27, 1693, and entered the Society of Jesus in the province of Champagne, September 11, 1712. P. Du Poisson was one of the French missionaries who came to the mission in Louisiana in 1727; he reached the Arkansas Post in July, 1727, which mission had seen no priest since the death of Father Foucault (1702). Here he labored amongst the Quapaws and the colonists until 1729 with indifferent success. About that time the Natchez had planned a revolt against the French. On his way to New Orleans Father Du Poisson, ignorant of the plot, reached Natchez November 26, and, the Capuchin priest being absent, officiated for the people on the first Sunday in Advent. Whilst on Monday, November 28, 1729, he was about to carry the Blessed Sacrament to a sick man, he was killed by the Natchez chief with a blow of the tomahawk; then the savage hacked off his head. SHEA, *Missions*, p. 448.

*DECEMBER 7. At St. Mark's Island, Florida, the memory of three unknown *Franciscan Fathers*, Martyrs. When Governor Moore of South Carolina, in 1702, made war on Florida, the Christian Indians on the islands, from St. Catherine's to Amelia, had withdrawn to St. Mark's Island, where they formed three towns. These were now committed to the flames with their churches and convents; three Franciscan Fathers fell into the hands of the enemy, while their Indian converts fled to St. Augustine. The Fathers were killed by the Indians. SHEA, Vol. i, p. 459.

DECEMBER 11. Near Vicksburg, Mississippi, the memory of Father *Jean Souel, S.J.*, Martyr. He had come from France with Fathers Du Poisson, Dumas and De

Guyenne in 1727 to the Louisiana mission, and was assigned to the Yazoos, though prostrated by disease. He was to minister to the French and announce the gospel to the Yazoos, Ofagoulas and Coroas. Although his constitution was completely shattered, he took up his residence at the Indian village and devoted himself to the study of the language. The Yazoos in 1729 were drawn into the conspiracy of the Natchez, and on December 11 killed Father Souel by a volley of musket balls. His faithful negro, who attempted to resist the violence of the murderers, was cut to pieces. The next day they attacked the French fort and massacred all the inmates. *Jesuit Relations*, lxxi, 168.

DECEMBER 21. At the pueblo of the Taos Indians in New Mexico the memory of Father *Pedro de Miranda, O. F. M.*, Martyr. He was a native of Avila, Spain, and was killed by the Taos Indians, with two Spanish soldiers, Luis Pacheco and Juan de Estrada, December 21, 1631. PRINCE, *Spanish Mission Churches.*

*DECEMBER 23. In St. Mark's Mission, near the mouth of Wolf River, Wisconsin, the memory of Brother *Jean Guérin, S. J.*, Martyr. He was the companion, first of Father Menard, then of Father Louis André, and was martyred a.1672 at the Big Butte des Morts, near Oshkosh, Wisconsin, by pagan Outagamies or Fox Indians. *Hist. Researches*, July, 1907, p. 260. Where Father Holzknecht obtained this information we do not know; Guérin was a "donné" of the Society. Neither the *Jesuit Relations* nor Shea mention his martyrdom.

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DOCUMENTS

RAGGUAGLIO DELLO STATO DELLA RELIGIONE CATTOLICA NELLE COLONIE INGLESI D'AMERICA[1]

I

Di tutte le Colonie degli Inglesi, quella dovè vi sono più Cattolici è la provincia di *Canada* ceduta alla Corona Britannica per il trattato di pace conchiuso a Parigi nel mese di Febraio 1763. Per l'istesso trattato furono cedute le Isole di *Capo Breton*, e di *San Giovanni*, e le altre Isole nel Golfo di San Lorenzo.

Gli abitanti di questa vasta provincia, oriondi d'Europa, erano allora tutti cattolici: ed oltre di questi molti zelanti Missionarii avevano convertito un gran numero di quegli antichi abitanti selvaggi. E benche vi siano adesso mischiati fra loro alcuni Inglesi Protestanti con tutto ciò il corpo del popolo è cattolico per l'articolo quarto del sopra detto trattato devono godere il libero esercizio della Religione Cattolica. Ed in fatto si è saputo per lettere venute poco fa da quelle parti, che non solamente professano con libertà la Religione Cattolica, ma che lo fanno nella stessa publica forma, come erano soliti di fare sotto il Dominio Francese. Ma le Missioni tra i Selvaggi hanno patito moltissimo dalle calamità della guerra.

Vi è una Sede Episcopale a Quebec capitale della Provincia. Si crede che la sua giurisdizione si estendesse sopra le vicine provincie di Nuova Scozia e Acadia, sopra le quali i Francesi avevano delle pretensioni. L'ultimo Vescovo morì poco dopo che la città di Quebec era caduta in mano agli Inglesi. La giurisdizione si esercita adesso dai Vicarii Generali Capitolari.

Vi era a Quebec un Seminario sotto la direzione de' Preti Secolari della celebre congregazione di San Sulpizio di Parigi ed avevano i Medesimi un altra casa a *Montreal*, città situata sopra il fiume di *San Lorenzo*, ma più di cento miglia lontano di Quebec. Si crede che questi due stabilimenti si mantengono amora.

II

Nelle provincie de *Nuova Scozia* e *Acadia* vi sono poche popolazioni Inglesi. Le principali sono *Halifax* e *Annapolis*, e gli abitanti di questi luoghi sono Protestanti. Ma nel rimanente del Paese vi sono molti abitanti d'origine Francesi, che prima dell' ultima guerra erano chiamati i *Francesi neutrali*. Questi sono la maggior parte Cattolici e sono assistiti da Sacerdoti mandati loro dal *Canada*. Per altro non godono della stessa libertà di esercitare publicamente la Religione Cattolica.

III

La Grand' Isola di *Terra Nuova* è quasi deserta, benchè appartenente agli Inglesi. Non si sa che vi abbiano altro stabilimento riguardevole che la città di

[1] As one of the earliest accounts of the Catholic religion in the English Colonies of North America, this document from the Archives of Propaganda (*Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. 2, fol. 288–293) merits the attention of historians. It has been prepared for publication in this REVIEW by the Right Rev. Monsignor Bernardini, D.D., J. C. D., Associate Professor of Canon Law, at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

Piacenza; nè si sa che vi siano degli abitanti cattolici. Con tutto ciò pochi anni sono, un Religioso Agostiniano Irlandese prese dal Vicario Apostolico di Londra la facoltà di amministrare i Sagramenti volendo andare a stabilirsi in quella Isola, per soccorrere nè bisogni loro spirituali molti de suoi Patriotti, che vi concorrono ogni anno per il commodo della pesca che si fa in quei contorni.

IV

Venendo adesso alle ricche e popolate provincie che compongono la *Nuova Inghilterra* e la *Nuova York*, se vi si trova qualche Cattolico sparso qua e la, non anno nessuno esercizio della loro Religione, nessun Sacerdote vi si avvicina. E se dobbiamo giudicare del futuro per le disposizioni presenti degli abitanti, non v' è apparenza che vi si permetta ai Preti Cattolici d'introdursi. Perchè sono per la maggior parte Presbiteriani rigidi, o d'altre sette le più contrarie al nome Cattolico.

V

Fra le antiche possessioni della Gran Bretagna sul continente d'*America*, le sole Colonie dovè vi siano de' Sacerdoti stabiliti sono le due Provincie di *Marilandia* e di *Pensilvania*. In questa ultima Provincia la Religione Cattolica è formalmente tolerata dalle leggi. In *Marilandia* le leggi vi sono contrarie come in Inghilterra con tutto ciò rare volte si pensa a metterle in esecuzione, e per l' ordinario vi è una specie di tolerazione tacita.

Si pretende che nella *Marilandia* vi possano essere intorno a sedici mila Cattolici, de' quali la meta incirca atti alla communione. Vi sono per assisterli dodici Missionarii della Compagnia di Gesù.

Il numero dei Cattolici in *Pensilvania* e di sei in sette mila anno una Chiesa publica a *Filadelfia* città capitale della Provincia. Sono assistiti da quattro Sacerdoti parimente Gesuiti. Questi Religiosi si comportano con gran zelo e regolarità di costumi.

Vi sono Ancora alcuni Cattolici nella *Virginia*, nè confini della *Marilandia;* ed in quelle parti della *Nuova Jerseia* che confinano colla *Pensilvania*. Ma non hanno sacerdoti di continuo residenti fra loro; e sono assistiti dai Missionarii delle due sopranominate provincie. Nella *Carolina*, e la *Giorgia* non si sa che vi siano de' cattolici almeno non vi è nissun sacerdote.

VI

La *Florida*, provincia ceduta della Spagna per il medesimo trattato di Parigi, già sopra nominato, è quasi deserta. Ma quei pochi abitanti ivi rimasti sono mantenuti nella libera professione della Religione Cattolica, nella stessa maniera che gli abitanti del *Canada*.

VII

La *Louisiana*, o sia provincia di *Mississippi*, che prima era de'Francesi e stata in gran parte ceduta agli Inglesi per il medesimo trattato, ciò è fin al fiume *Mississippi* che da il nome alla provincia. E vi è l'istessa Libertà per la Religione stipulata in favor degli abitanti Cattolici che devono essere in numero considerabile. Ma che assistenza spirituale abbiano, lo scrivente ignora intieramente.

VIII

Nella Isole lo stato della Religione è molto peggiore che sul continente. I Cattolici che vi sono, sono quasi tutti di nascità o d'origine Irlandesi e tanto il popolo, che i sacerdoti sono di costumi poco regolati: per entrare un po più in detaglio.

Nella *Giamaica* vi sono alcuni pochi cattolici. In questi ultimi tempi due preti hanno provato di stabilirvisi, ma non gli è riuscito di farlo. Gli abitanti di quell' Isola sono stimati generalmente di costumi sregolatissimi.

Nella *Barbaba* vi era poco fà un Religioso Agostiniano che poi si fece Apostata, i pochi Cattolici che vi sono vengono assistiti presentemente dai Missionarii che risiedono nell' Isola di Monserrato. Questa che e una tra le più piccole delle Isole Inglesi rinchiude però il più gran numero di Cattolici. Sono da tre in quattro cento, e sono assistiti da tre o quattro Missionarii Irlandesi. Ma non anno nessuna considerazione nè cura de' loro Negri che sono in gran numero.

Nell' Isola di *Antigoa* vi sono ancora alcuni Cattolici Irlandesi d'origine, erano assistiti pochi anni sono da un Padre Domenicano dell' istessa nazione, il quale trovandosi per qualche affare in Londra, diede a quel Vicario Apostolico una Relazione poco vantaggiosa de' costumi di quei suoi Patriotti.

L'Isola di *San Cristoforo* rinchiude Ancora alcuni ma pochi Cattolici, i quali per i loro bisogni Spirituali ricorrono a i Missionarii stabiliti nella vicina Isola di *Monserrato*.

IX

Ma oltre le Isole sopra nominate che sono da molto tempo sotto il dominio Inglese, vi è l'Isola di *Granada* colle Isolette chiamate *Granadine*, ceduta all' Inghilterra dalla Francia per il sopra detto trattato di Parigi: nel quale vi è la solita stipulazione per la libera professione della fede Cattolica in favore degli abitanti; i quali erano allora tutti Cattolici. Per l'istesso trattato le tre Isole di San Vincenzo, la Dominiga, Tabago, che prima si chiamavano neutrali sono cedute al libero dominio della Gran Brettagna. L'Isola di Tabago era deserta, ma le due altre anno molti abitanti cattolici Francesi d'origine. E benchè questi non abbiano l'istessa assicurazione per la libertà della Religione è da sperare dalla moderazione presente del Governo Inglese che non saranno violentati in quella loro professione.

X

Fra queste diverse Isole e provincie non vi è certamente alcuna che meriti più l'attenzione della Sagra Congregazione, che quella di *Canada*. Sì per la sua grande estensione, che per il gran numero de' fedeli che contiene, e per il florido stato in cui era la Religione cattolica quando venne sotto il dominio Inglese. Fu senza dubbio una gran disgrazia la morte del Vescovo di *Quebec* in quelle circostanze, se le difficoltà che anno impedito fin adesso di darli un successore, continuano, pare che sia necessario di mandarvi almeno un Vicario Apostolico, per mantenervi il buon ordine, per administrare il Sagramento della Confirmazione, e per provvedere de' nuovi pastori, in luogo di quelli che sono morti, o che giornalmente vanno morendo. Mandandovi un Vicario Apostolico sarebbe a proposito di estendere la sua giurisdizione sopra le vicine provincie di

Nuova Scozia e *Acadia:* tanto più che quei Cattolici che vi sono devono essere Francesi d'origine.

Il Re di Francia fondando il Vescovato di Quebec fece unire alla mensa episcopale le due abbadie di Benevento, diocesi Lemovicen. dell' ordine di Sant Antonio, et di Letrec, Diocesi Ebroicen., dell'ordine Cister., il che tutt' insieme faceva una entrata di dodici mila lire di Francia. Ma lo stato presente di quelle Abadie è intieramente incognito a chi scrive le presenti notizie.

XI

I Vicarii Apostolici di Londra, fin dal tempo del Rè Giacomo Secondo, anno sempre avuto autorità sopra le Colonie e Isole Inglesi d'America. Ma come non appariva chiaramente su quale fondamento era appoggiato quell' uso, la Sagra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide nel mese di Gennaro 1757, ottenne dalla felice memoria di Benedetto XIV, un decreto in favore di Monsig. Beniamino Petre Vescovo Prusen. allora Vicario Apostolico di Londra, dandoli ad *sexennium* giurisdizione sopra tutte le Colonie e Isole d'America soggette al Impero Britannico: e dopo la morte di quel Prelato l'istesso fu confermato ad *aliud sexennium* per Monsig. Riccardo Chaloner Vescovo Deboren. presentemente Vic. Apt. di Londra, alli 31 di Marzo 1759.

Il medesimo Vicario Apostolico è tanto lontano di ogni ambizione e desiderio di accrescere la sua giurisdizione in quelle parti, che vedrebbe con un piacere sensibile, che la Sagra Congregazione lo solle vasse d'un peso, che già eccede le sue forze e a cui non puol dare la dovuta attenzione. La gran lontananza di quelle provincie dalla sua Residenza di Londra, non li permette di portarvisi personalmente. Onde non puol avere le notizie necessarie per conoscere gli abusi o per corregerli: non puol administrare il Sagramento della Confermazione a quelli fedeli che rimangono totalmente privi di questo Spirituale aiuto: non puol provvederli di ministri ecclesiastici parte per l'istesso motivo della lontananza, parte per mancanza de' denari necessari per souvenire a quella spesa.

Se la Sagra Congregazione, mossa da queste ragioni, e da altre che facilmente possano venire alla mente, giudicasse convenevole di stabilire un Vicario Apostolico sopra le altre colonie e Isole Inglesi, pare che la città di *Filadelfia* in *Pensilvania* sia il luogo più a proposito per la sua residenza; per essere città molto popolata, e di più porto di mare, e per conseguenza commoda per mantenere una libera corrispondenza colle altre Provincie di Terra Ferma come anche colle Isole. Vi si giunge questo motivo di più, che non vi è luogo in tutti i Dominii Inglesi, dove la Religione Cattolica si esercita con maggior Libertà.

Data dall' Agente d'Inghilterra.

[*Translation*]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONDITION OF THE CATHOLIC RELIGION IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES OF AMERICA

I

Of all the English colonies, the one which has the greatest number of Catholics is the Province of *Canada*, which was ceded to England by the Treaty of Paris, in February, 1763. By the same treaty the islands of *Cape Breton*, of *St. John* and the other islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence were also ceded.

The inhabitants of this vast province, who had come from Europe, were at that time all Catholics. In addition to these, many zealous missionaries had converted a great number of the savage aborigines. On the whole, the great body of the population is Catholic, although scattered among them may be found a few Protestant English. By provision of the fourth article of the above mentioned treaty, they are to enjoy the free exercise of the Catholic Religion. And in fact it is known from letters received but a short time ago from those parts that, not only do they profess with perfect freedom the Catholic Religion, but they exercise it in the same public manner in which they were accustomed to do while under French rule. But the Indian missions have suffered very much from the calamities of the war.

There is an Episcopal See at Quebec, the capital of the Province. It is believed that its jurisdiction extended over the neighboring provinces of Nova Scotia and Acadia, which the French had claimed. The last Bishop died a short time after the city of Quebec had fallen into the hands of the English. Jurisdiction is exercised at the present writing by Capitular Vicars-General.

There was at Quebec a seminary under the direction of the celebrated congregation of Saint Sulpice of Paris; the same priests had another house at *Montreal*, a city situated on the *St. Lawrence River* at a distance of more than one hundred miles from Quebec. The writer believes that these two institutions are still maintained.

II

In the Provinces of *Nova Scotia* and *Acadia* there are a few English settlements. The principal settlements of the English are those of *Halifax* and *Annapolis;* the inhabitants are Protestants. But in the other parts of the country there are many settlers of French origin, who before the last war were called *the neutral French*. The majority of these are Catholic and are ministered to by priests sent to them from *Canada*. However, they do not enjoy the same freedom in professing the Catholic Religion publicly.

III

The large island of *New Foundland* is almost deserted, although belonging to England. It is impossible to say whether there is a settlement of any considerable size besides the city of *Piacenza;* it is likewise impossible to say whether there are any Catholics there. Nothwithstanding this an Irish Augustinian, several years ago, received faculties from the Vicar-Apostolic of London to administer the sacraments, as he desired to settle on that island to take care of the spiritual wants of many of his countrymen who flocked thither every year to take advantage of the good fishing to be had in those parts.

IV

Now, coming to the rich and populous provinces of *New England* and of *New York*, one may find a Catholic here and there, but they have no opportunity of practicing their religion as no priest visits them, and if we are to judge of the future from the present conditions of the inhabitants, there is not much likelihood that Catholic priests will be permitted to enter these provinces, for the

reason that the majority of the inhabitants are strict Presbyterians, or belong to other sects which are likewise most bitterly opposed to Catholicism.

V

Among the old possessions of Great Britain on the continent of *America*, the only colonies in which priests are permanently located are the provinces of *Maryland* and *Pennsylvania*. In the latter, the Catholic Religion is formally tolerated by law. In *Maryland*, the laws are opposed to it, as in England; however, these laws are rarely put into execution and usually there is a sort of tacit toleration.

It is claimed that in *Maryland* there must be around sixteen thousand Catholics, of whom about half approach the sacraments. To take care of these there are twelve missionaries of the Society of Jesus.

The number of Catholics in *Pennsylvania* is between six and seven thousand. They have a public church at *Philadelphia* which is the capital of the province. They are ministered to by four priests, likewise Jesuits. These religious manifest great zeal and lead edifying lives.

There are besides some Catholics in *Virginia*, on the confines of *Maryland*, and in those parts of *New Jersey* which border on *Pennsylvania*. But they have no priests permanently residing among them, their spiritual wants being ministered to by missionaries from the two provinces above mentioned. As to *Carolina* and *Georgia*, it is impossible to say whether there are any Catholics there or not. One thing is certain, there are no priests in those provinces.

VI

Florida, a province ceded by Spain in the same Treaty of Paris, already mentioned, is almost a wilderness, but the few Catholics who have remained there are allowed the freedom of practicing the Catholic Religion in the same manner as the inhabitants of *Canada*.

VII

Louisiana, or the Province of *Mississippi*, which formerly belonged to the French, has for the most part been ceded to the English by the same treaty, that is, up to the *Mississippi* River, which gives the province its name. The same freedom of worship has been granted in favor of the Catholic inhabitants, of whom there must be considerable number. But as to how they are taken care of spiritually the writer has no information whatsoever.

VIII

On the islands the condition of worship is much worse than on the continent. The Catholics, both lay and clerical, who are almost all of Irish birth or descent are not in the best condition, morally: let us enter somewhat into detail.

In *Jamaica* there are a few Catholics. Of late, two priests have tried to settle there, but they have not succeeded in doing so. The inhabitants of that island are generally regarded to be of very loose morals.

In *Barbaba*, a short time ago, an Augustinian turned apostate. However, the Catholics that are there are being taken care of at the present time by

missionaries who live on the island of Monserrato. This island, which is one of the smallest of the English islands, has, nevertheless, the greatest number of Catholics. They are between three and four hundred and they are ministered to by three or four Irish missionaries. But they have no consideration or solicitude for their negroes, of whom there is a great number.

On the island of *Antigoa* there are also some Catholics of Irish origin. They were taken care of spiritually a few years ago by a Dominican father of the same nationality, who being in London on some business gave to that Vicar-Apostolic rather unfavorable account of the moral condition of his fellow-countrymen.

The island of *Saint Christopher* also contains some few Catholics whose spiritual needs are tended to by the missionaries stationed on the island of *Monserrato*.

IX

But besides the islands above mentioned which have been under English rule for a long time, there is the island of *Granada* with islets called *Granadine* ceded to England by France in the Treaty of Paris, already mentioned, in which there is the usual stipulation for the free exercise of the Catholic Religion in favor of the inhabitants, who at that time were all Catholics. By the same treaty, the three islands of Saint Vincent, La Dominiga, and Tabago, which formerly were called neutral, have been ceded to the absolute dominion of Great Britain. The island of Tabago was without inhabitants, but the other two contained many Catholic inhabitants of French descent. And although these have not the same assurance of religious freedom it is to be hoped, if we may judge from the present moderation of the English governor, that they will not be disturbed in the practice of their religion.

X

Among the various islands and provinces, there is surely no province which merits more the attention of the sacred congregation than that of *Canada*, by reason of both the immense extent of its territory and the great number of the faithful included within its borders, and on account of the flourishing condition of the Catholic Religion at the time when it passed under English rule. The death of the Bishop of *Quebec* under those circumstances was, doubtless, a great misfortune. If the conditions, which up to the present time have prevented the appointment of a successor to him continue, it would seem necessary to send there at least a Vicar-Apostolic, to maintain good order, to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation, and to appoint new pastors in the places of those who have died or who are dying daily. When sending a Vicar-Apostolic there it would be a good plan to extend his jurisdiction over the neighboring provinces of *Nova Scotia* and *Acadia;* and all the more so, since the Catholics who live there must be of French descent.

The King of France, when creating the Diocese of Quebec, had the two abbeys of Benevento in the Diocese of Limoges of the order of Saint Anthony, and of Letrec in the Diocese of Evreux of the Cistercian order, added to the Episcopal revenue, the income from the above benefices, amounting to twelve thou-

sand francs. But the present state of those abbeys is entirely unknown to the writer of the present account.

XI

The Vicars-Apostolic of London since the time of King James II have always had authority over the English Colonies and islands of America. But, whereas, the reason for this custom was not evident, the Sacred Congregation of Propoganda in the month of January, 1757, secured from Benedict XIV, of happy memory, a decree in favor of Monsignor Benjamin Petre, Bishop of Prusa, at that time Vicar-Apostolic of London, giving him for *six years* jurisdiction over all the colonies and islands of America under English rule; and after the death of that prelate the same decree was confirmed, March 31, 1759, for *another six years* in favor of Monsignor Richard Challoner, Bishop of Deboren, at the present time Vicar-Apostolic of London.

The same Vicar-Apostolic, far from having any ambition or desire to increase his jurisdiction in those parts, would regard with evident pleasure an act of the Sacred Congregation relieving him of a burden which is already too great for him, and to which he is unable to give the necessary attention. The great distance of those provinces from his residence in London hinders him from visiting them personally. And, therefore, he cannot have the information necessary to know abuses and to correct them; he cannot administer the Sacrament of Confirmation to those faithful who remain totally deprived of this spiritual aid; he cannot furnish them with priests, partly for the same reason of remoteness and partly because of the lack of the necessary means to meet the required outlay.

If the sacred congregation, moved by these considerations and by others which will easily come to mind, considers it meet to create a Vicar-Apostolic over the other English colonies and islands, it seems that the city of *Philadelphia*, in *Pennsylvania*, would be the place best suited for him to reside in, for the reason that it is a very populous city and is moreover a seaport, and consequently is convenient for the easy exchange of letters with the other provinces of the mainland, as also with the islands. To these various reasons may be added the fact that there is no place within the English dominions where the Catholic Religion is exercised with greater freedom.

(Given by the Agent of England.)

BOOK REVIEWS

The Writing of History: An Introduction to Historical Method. By F. M. Fling, Ph.D. Yale University Press, 1920. Pp. 195.

I count this book a distinct failure—in form, make-up, style, and in choice of examples. Dr. Fling says that it is not a revised edition of his *Outline*, which has been out of print a score of years, but that it is an entirely new work. Bernheim, to whom the book is dedicated, would hardly approve the title selected by Dr. Fling. The two terms: Writing of History and Introduction are not synonymous. There is a constant parallel in these pages to the rigid technical work done in the chemical laboratory. The simile is not a mistaken one, but the processes carried on in the laboratory are not wholly identical, except in the imperious necessity of accuracy and patience which rule the test tube and the reagent. Dr. Fling has not given us the textbook for historical method we need, and need badly, in our classes. He was one of the first to make Bernheim's *Lehrbuch* known to students in the United States, and his *Outline of Historical Method*, published in 1899, still holds the field as a very practicable manual in English. If I might sum my criticism up in a word, it is this: in the *Outline*, the author visualized a help for beginners; in this latter volume he has forgotten the beginner, and visualizes the finished scholar. The chief defects of the books are the lack of typographical aids and the limited ambitus of source-examples. No one would publish for the student a textbook in Chemistry in this way. The style is involved. There is no aid to the eye in the pages, and entirely too much is taken for granted. For one who has finished his study in historical method, the book would be a valuable *Vade Mecum*, but no teacher could use the book for a class, even of graduate beginners. Any one of a half-dozen works on the same subject would fill our need much better. Battaini, *Manuale di Metodologia Storica;* Albers, *Manuale di Propedeutica Storica;* Benigni, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Propaedeutica;* Fonck, *Wissenschaftliches Arbeiten;* Villada, *Como se aprende a trabajar cientifiamente*, and especially Deschepper, *Inleiding tot de Studie der Kerkgeschiedenis*, are all of more in-

trinsic worth; and, based as they are on Bernheim and Langlois-Seignobos, as Fling's little volume is, they show a clearer appreciation of the student's needs. Of course, there is nothing original about the divisioning of the book. Bernheim laid down the large divisions in his classic volume, and they are too logical to warrant change. Dr. Fling has marred his book with traces of a bias one scarcely expects to find in a modern scholar. The writer who says of a certain scene he witnessed at the circus that "had this crowd been a gathering of medieval folk it would have reported a miracle," knows very little of the medieval spirit. No age saw scepticism in inquiry pushed to such limits. It is hardly fair to shoulder the "miraculous" mind on the medieval days when our own times are made so ridiculous by spiritistic frauds. One could overlook this fling at the Middle Ages. It is a sort of lapsus into an attitude that was popular to the last generation of historical students. But no student can overlook the miserable interpretation Dr. Fling gives to the following example:

> It is affirmed in an historical document that on a certain occasion water was changed into wine. The affirmation cannot be localized, that is we do not know who saw this performance, nor when he made a record of what he thought he saw, but even if the affirmation were of a more valuable nature, even if it could be definitely localized, it would not establish the probability of the thing asserted, because all reliable human experience indicates that the thing could not have taken place. We know what the chemical composition of wine is and what the chemical composition of water is, and we know of no way in which the elements of water—oxygen and hydrogen—can be combined to produce wine, *i. e.*, fermented grape juice. If the witness believed that he saw water changed into wine, he was self-deceived (pp. 105-6).

This paragraph rules the book out of court as an impartial and honest study. No Christian student can trust the rest of the work, when this blasphemy is allowed to stand. The Gospels are not open to the historical critic. They contain the Revealed Word of God, spoken to us by the lips of His Only Begotten Son, Jesus Christ, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, True God and True Man, Who could neither deceive nor be deceived, because He is God. If localization of the source means, as Dr. Fling states, and as everyone else who writes books on Method states, the determination of the *when*, *where* and *by whom*, the source originated, it is obvious that the Miracle of Cana will answer these three questions. It is precisely in this problem of

oral tradition that most of our guides fail us. There is a divine as well as a human oral tradition, and the former is not within the province of the human mind for critical appraisal. We go to God on our knees and not with a text-book, a microscope, or book of man-made rules. But apart from this blemish in the book, the *Writing of History* is another example of how far all adaptations of Bernheim fall short. It is like buying for a few marks a replica of the Cologne Cathedral. It serves to remind us of the glorious Dom, but its practical value may be hardly higher than that of a paper-weight. Dr. Fling has already proven that he is beyond all our historical teachers best capable of giving us an authorized translation of the *Lehrbuch*. That would satisfy us; hardly anything else will, unless one is able to read the original.

PETER GUILDAY.

A Century of Negro Migration, by Carter Godwin Woodson. Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

The Negro has been termed migratory. Mr. Woodson denies this, and his denial is probably justified. Certainly there have been more extensive and more important shiftings of population among whites than among the colored. The educational and economic condition of the colored race, as well as the difference in ethnic type and the consciousness of kind have constantly operated to keep Negroes indefinitely concentrated in certain sections. This is the history of the so-called "black belts."

Still, because there is a peculiar importance to such fluctuations in Negro population as have taken place, they are worth the study. The present work is an attempt to analyze coherently the various movements of Negroes away from their traditional centers of habitation, which have been marked features at least since 1815. The recent colored migrations to the North and West have given the subject renewed interest.

Prior to the Civil War migrations were due mostly to the desire of Negroes to escape from slavery as when the French settlements in the West became places of refuge, or to philanthropy as when many fair-minded men, especially among the Quakers, transplanted numbers of Negroes to free-soil. There was also in those days some public talk of colonization, from which little that was

practical ever resulted. All this is satisfactorily traced out in Mr. Woodson's book.

Not everybody will be inclined to take the migrations so optimistically as Mr. Woodson does in many portions of his book. It is true that the freedom to move from place to place has been a large element in the building up of many societies. It has also given a good many vagabonds to the world. Mr. Woodson has common observation in his favor when he writes that the migrations of Negroes during the late war, for example, have been instrumental in proving to the South that the colored man is necessary to its economic development. But the position that the Negro has a right to expect in our community can never be permanently or sufficiently attained by playing section against section or class against class. That position must be won by the combined efforts of Negroes everywhere, efforts that show beyond a doubt that the Negro is making himself a useful member of the community and therefore entitled to the rights and privileges of the community. In this sense migration can never be any more than a means of temporary and restricted betterment.

Mr. Woodson hints at much of this in his last chapter, but it is to be regretted that he did not sketch out more vigorously and with more finality the precise part that migrations will play in Negro progress. If his message, besides giving information, was intended to include the bigger function of helping others of his race to guage the migrations accurately, it seems that he should have done as suggested. The author even stigmatizes those Negroes who advise their fellows to remain in the South as belonging to the "sycophant and toady class." If memory is correct Booker T. Washington was one who so advised. And there are many real friends of the race who believe that the Negro will never advance to any level worth while until he obtains economic independence, and that wherever else the opportunity for such independence may lie, it is most certainly accessible in the agricultural situation of the South.

The main part of Mr. Woodson's problem lay in the unsettled condition of the Negroes during, and immediately after the Civil War. The influence of other migratory movements has been narrow and fugitive. Much of what the Negro is today and much that exists in the relations of the races can be traced back to the

days of Reconstruction. It is unfortunate that in this section of his work Mr. Woodson should have permitted his pre-occupations as an apologist to outweigh his vision as an historian. No serious student thinks of blaming to any great extent the Negroes for the disorders of 1865. But many serious persons, North and South, consider that the adjustment of Negroes to their new life after emancipation was badly managed. What most of us want to know are the effects, psychological and economic, which helped to fix the Negro in his new rôle of freedman. Instead Mr. Woodson considers it his duty to overthrow the conclusions of "prejudiced whites," which he could have afforded to ignore. He would have had ample material in the reports of officers connected with the Freedmen's Bureau. The more one reads of the troubled events of Reconstruction the more one despairs of getting at the truth in them.

As a plea for greater justice to the Negro, however, Mr. Woodson's book is convincing. The author is a colored man, a graduate of Harvard and the editor of the *Journal of Negro History*. In many things he evidences a sensible outlook on the condition and opportunities of his race. He realizes that racial progress is an achievement, yielding only to hard work and complete development in all departments of life. Unlike so many of his fellows he does not believe much in the efficacy of political action. On the whole Mr. Woodson is one of those Negroes who make us believe that the problem of the colored race is not nearly so hopeless as many have been inclined to think. His book will prove interesting.

T. B. Moroney, S.T.D.

The Fundamentals of Citizenship. The Committee on Special War Activities, National Catholic War Council, Washington, D. C., 1919. 93 pages.

The value of this booklet is probably well indicated by the fact that more than a million copies of it have been distributed throughout the country. Its scope is sufficiently shown by the titles of the chapters. They are as follows: American Democracy, The Needs of The People, The People's Rights, Education,

Health, Making Laws, Carrying on the People's Work, The Courts and Their Work, Dealings With Other Countries, Military Service, Preventing Frauds, Insurance, Taxation, The Citizen's Part, and Naturalization. In addition to these topics, the booklet prints the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

In a general way, this little volume describes the operation and the benefits of our government; and endeavors to bring home to the citizen his obligations in consequence of the nature of governmental operations and the things that it does for him. For example, in the chapter on The People's Rights, the citizen is informed that he has such rights as those of free speech, religious liberty, freedom from search and from false imprisonment, protection of property and life, and the right to vote and hold office. In the chapter on The Citizen's Part he is admonished concerning his duty to vote and to study public questions so that he will vote wisely. The chapter on Military Service affords no consolation to pacifists and "conscientious objectors." The citizen is told that it is his duty to fight for his country when that becomes necessary, and that the government has a right to conscript him for military service. These are merely typical illustrations of the method, drift, and purpose of the booklet. While it has a special value for immigrants and persons who are attaining their majority, it is well worth perusal by even the more mature persons who have been born in this country.

When the booklet first appeared it received some criticism because it failed to mention some of the European peoples that are largely represented in our cosmopolitan population. This criticism was not fairly made, inasmuch as the passage in dispute only professes to refer merely to the countries that sent to our shores organized colonies. It did not profess to enumerate all the racial groups that have found a home here.

JOHN A. RYAN.

A Program For Citizenship. The Committee on Special War Activities, National Catholic War Council, Washington, D. C., 1919. 14 pages.

This is essentially a manual of instruction on the opportunities and duties of citizenship. It is intended particularly for immi-

grants. Strong emphasis is laid on the truth that duties of citizenship are finally duties to God, inasmuch as God is the source of the authority exercised by governments. The topics treated in the pamphlet are: Civic Responsibility and Education, Citizenship for Immigrants, Teaching English, Opportunity, Fair Play, Participation in Affairs, Cooperation, Equal Rights, Patriotism, Practical Application, Exploitation, Fundamental Rights, and The Immigrant's Basis for Citizenship. The spirit which animates the program is well described in these words of the Introduction: "Citizenship is our duty to God, fulfilled in our care and solicitude for our country whose welfare God has placed in our hands. The Catholic Church has ever inculcated the conscientious duty, not only of voting but of voting intelligently. The success of democracy depends upon the worth of the individual conscience and its insight into the duties of citizenship. That must extend into the field of actual duty and of present problems."

JOHN A. RYAN.

Benedictine Monachism, Studies in Benedictine Life and Rule. By the Right Reverend Cuthbert Butler, Abbot of Downside. Pp. 387. London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1919.

Abbot Butler has herewith given us a plastic exposition of St. Benedict's idea in founding his Order. A school of God's service for cenobites, Christ's soldiers under the rule of the abbot, this is the keynote of the book. At the hand of history we are shown the great work of the saint of Nursia throughout the centuries. There have been changes, and attempts at changes, but the idea of St. Benedict, as embodied in his rule, has ever been and must be the guiding principle of the Order. This the author stoutly maintains, as necessary for the very life of the foundation against the modern tendency of centralization, vindicating the rights of each single monastery of the Benedictine obedience, as "the family" intended by the illustrious founder. This defense of the Rule as originally given communicates to the book a slightly polemical character, which will make it specially interesting to the members of the Order; yet it will prove interesting and valuable to all lovers of history, whether in the Order or not. It opens a clear view into the Benedictine life, whose first

and essential object is the "Opus Dei," the divine psalmody. We are led to understand the loving care of the sons of St. Benedict bestowed upon God's work, the splendor lavished upon their churches, that surround the "Opus Dei." A life of prayer, a life of work, of self denial, but not of extraordinary austerity. A life of faith and charity, tempered by the spirit of sweet reasonableness. Thus the Benedictines have prayed and labored throughout these many centuries, changing the wilderness far and wide into a garden of gardens in the earthly sense, as well as in the spiritual, and they have by no means lost their *raison d'être* in our modern days of progress and poverty, as some would think. True, the school-room to a great extent, taken the place of the field and the work of the mind has more and more supplanted the work of the hand, but in our materialistic age such a change is but to be welcomed.

The author of this interesting and scholarly work, is well qualified to speak out on mooted questions concerning his Order since he has for nearly a half century been a Benedictine monk, living the life according to the Rule, and shaping his spiritual life, his intellectual and other activities by its inspiration and teaching. The style is clear, precise and in parts very eloquent. All in all the book is a valuable contribution to our historical literature.

J. E. ROTHENSTEINER.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (1870–1920)

A Retrospect of Fifty Years

I

There is nothing particularly striking about the year 1870 as a starting-point for a review of Catholic thought and action in the United States during the past fifty years. In the history of the modern world, however, it is one of the eventful years of European politics; and for the Church in general it chronicles a turning-point in the history of the papacy. It saw the beginning of a long struggle between two contending ideals of political government; a struggle which even the World War, with all its untold sacrifices, has hardly settled. It inaugurated the era of an armed peace that lasted down to August, 1914. It saw the rise of modern armaments, and it gave to our generation a political dictum around which international life was to center—*si vis pacem, para bellum*.

II

When New Year's Day, 1870, dawned, Europe and America were enjoying a period of repose. The battle of Sadowa (July 3, 1866) was as decisive in its way as that of Appomattox (April 9, 1865); and though they seemed far enough away even then—these two small towns made famous by victory—yet they were to meet shortly afterwards, when Maximilian, the brother of the Austrian Emperor, who had been humiliated at Sadowa, was captured and shot by the Mexican republicans (June, 1867). For it was the presence of fifty thousand Civil War veterans under General Sheridan on the Mexican border which drove the French out of Mexico and left the unhappy Archduke to his fate. And it was not Austria, but France, that was defeated at Sadowa. Sadowa was the prelude to the downfall of the French Empire and to the rise of the Prussian hegemony. Four years later (1870), with dramatic suddenness, and with a lie upon his lips which has few parallels in politics, Bismarck launched his armies at the heart of France. Austria he had conquered in six weeks; in that same short period he had inflicted the ignominious defeat at Sedan, had surrounded the French forces under General MacMahon, and had captured the Emperor Napoleon III. Sedan was never to be forgotten. It was the first note in the hymn of revenge in which two million American soldiers, sailors and marines sang, it is hoped, the final stanza. With a light heart, France had gone forward blindly to her greatest tragedy. There were no allies in those days, fifty years ago. Events moved too brusquely for diplomatic by-play. And it is rather interesting and certainly instructive to the student of contemporary history to compare the popular sentiment of London and New York during that sad year of 1870, when an enthusiastic Protestant world was rejoicing over the humiliation of the eldest daughter of the Church, with the *volte-face* of 1914–1918. The stringent conditions imposed by the victors of 1918 upon a defeated Germany and the peace scene at the Palace of Versailles on June 28, 1919, can only be

properly understood in the light of their revenge upon the one-act drama which had occurred in the same place forty-eight years before, when William of Prussia was proclaimed Emperor of Germany. The recall of the French troops from Rome several weeks before Sedan and the fall of the French empire opened the gates of Rome to the Pan-Italians, and gave to modern Italy its national holiday, September 20. Pius IX became, in consequence, the first prisoner of the Vatican, refusing the mockery of the Law of Guarantees. The advance of the Piedmontese army into the Eternal City made it impossible to continue the work of the Vatican Council, which had been solemnly opened on December 8, 1869. The declaration of the doctrine of papal infallibility on July 18, 1870, coincided with Napoleon's declaration of war on Prussia. As late as 1894, Cardinal Gibbons, the last survivor of the Vatican Council, could write in his charmingly reminiscent way:

> The year 1870 will ever be memorable for two great events—the Vatican Council and the Franco-Prussian War. Let us contrast the pacific gathering of Christian prelates with the warlike massing of troops which immediately followed on the Continent of Europe. Hosts of armed men were trampling the fair fields of France. The land was reddened with the best blood of two powerful nations. The sound of their cannon spread terror throughout the country. Thousands of human victims were sacrificed, and thousands of homes left desolate; and after a lapse of nearly a quarter of a century, the fires that were then kindled are still smouldering, and the animosity then engendered by the struggle is not yet allayed.

III

The great prelate of Baltimore lived to see his judgment fulfilled. He was then in the prime of his young manhood, the youngest Bishop of that historic assembly. Today he is the last living representative of the hierarchy of 1870. All the other great figures have passed away—McCloskey, Manning, Deschamps, Schwarzenberg, Spalding, Kenrick of St. Louis, von Ketteler, Darboy, and Dupanloup. His associations during that heroic period in the history of the papacy brought him into the closest circles of European life, diplomatic as well as political and ecclesiastic. He could foresee, as he then foresaw the World War of the past six years, the inevitable defeat of the Prussian Government, with Bismarck at its helm, when Bishop von Ketteler took up von Treitschke's challenge, and issued the *mot d'ordre* of the day for the Catholics of Germany: "Do not vote for laws which rebel against the laws of God, then we shall never rebel against the laws of the State." The story of the Kulturkampf is a sad page in Prussian diplomacy. Law followed law against liberty to Catholics, from 1871 down to 1878, when Bismarck grew aweary of the struggle and began the pilgrimage to Canossa. "At every shrine on the irksome way," says Germany's latest historian, "the travel-worn pilgrim made some new oblation of piety and of penitence." In the light of contemporary events Virchow chose an unfortunate word to designate the "culture struggle" of the State for supremacy over the Church. The Kulturkampf had one object: to alienate the Catholics of Germany from Rome. The method chosen was the old-fashioned one—to secure control of education within the State, to de-Christianize it and to make the schoolroom the antechamber to the Diet. It was the

same in France after the rise of the Third Republic in 1871. Again, as with the leaders of the Kulturkampf, the anti-Christian leaders of France began the contest with the Church for the souls of the children. That contest continued with varying success down to our own day, and was only estopped by the World War of 1914–1918. In Ireland, the year 1870 marks a change in the Home Government's policy of education. It chronicles also the rise of the modern Home Rule movement under Isaac Butt and Charles Parnell. Again the United States was too near the battle-fronts of Europe; for, the leaders who had forced England to consider the proposition of Home Rule were the idealists who had led an army into Canada three years before, and who were then under the ban of the American hierarchy and with an excommunication from Rome against them. In Rome itself, the "vultures beyond the Alps," to use Bismarck's brutal phrase, were feeding on the spoils of the wreckage the Franco-Prussian war had made. All in all, the year 1870 may yet attain the dignity of a real division in our history manuals.

IV

To turn to the United States. In 1870, the victor of the Civil War, Ulysses S. Grant, was beginning his eight years of the Presidency (1869–1877). Martin John Spalding, who had been called up from Kentucky to rule over the primatial See of Baltimore, was then ending his career as a Church leader (1834–1872). Peter Richard Kenrick, the younger of the two remarkable Irish prelates of that name, was in the heyday of his power out beyond the Mississippi, at St Louis (1847–1895). America's first Cardinal, John McCloskey, had succeeded the noble-hearted American, John Hughes, in New York (1864–1884). The distinguished Purcell was guiding the spiritual destinies of the Ohio Valley and of the old Northwest Territory (1850–1883). The Spanish Dominican, Joseph Sadoc Alemany, was still ruling the Church beyond the Rockies (1853–1884). The former banker and convert, James Frederick Wood, was the spiritual guardian of the Catholics in Pennsylvania (1860–1875). St. Paul had not then been given its strong leader, John Ireland, who was to become its bishop in 1875. New York had not yet received its second Hughes in Michael Augustine Corrigan until 1880; and Rochester had already begun to fear that it would not be able to keep within its gates Bernard, the Lion-hearted, who had commenced his long episcopate in 1868. Patrick John Ryan, the American Chrysostom, had already won great fame in St. Louis, and splendid things were predicted of the noble-looking Irishman, all to be fulfilled later in Penn's old town by the Delaware.

V

All these names spell the history of the best part of our retrospect of fifty years. One figure, however, had begun to occupy the center of the picture, even so far back as 1870. It is that of a frail little man, on horseback, down among the parched lands of North Carolina, where he had already been bishop for two years, when the half-century under review was opening. Those long rides alone in the forest were spent in outlining the chapters of America's "best seller" during the past fifty years, the *Faith of Our Fathers*. James Gibbons,

Vicar-Apostolic of North Carolina (1868), Bishop of Richmond (1872), Archbishop of Baltimore (1877), and second Cardinal of the American Church (1886), the first American Cardinal to take part in the election of a Pope, that of Pius X, in 1903, and now *feliciter regnans*, unites in his own ecclesiastical career the main events of the past fifty years. In one sense, the history of the Church in the United States from 1870 down to our own day is largely a biography of his episcopate. Those were important years in the Catholic life of the United States. The three stages of political development through which the nation was to pass—the period of reconstruction and reorganization, the period of immigration and assimilation by the enforcement of American ideals, and the period of America's position as a dominant world-power in international affairs—might well be taken as the outstanding features of the evolution in ecclesiastical life which began with Cardinal Gibbons' residence in Baltimore and in which he has always had the largest influence. *Quid vidisti in via?* might well be asked of one whose keen memory of persons and events is the delight of all his friends.

VI

Not all these events and changes can be chronicled; but in the eyes of one who visited us in the decade previous to that of 1870, it is not difficult to describe the situation of the Catholic Church at that time. Fortunately his very words have come down to us for such a description. The most unwelcome visitor "within our shores" since the days of Citizen Genet, Cajetan Bedini, Archbishop of Thebes, and Papal Nuncio to the Court of Brazil, arrived in New York in June, 1853, and for a half year the American Republic witnessed the amazing and shameful scene of an ecclesiastic who was travelling through the country, the guest of America's great prelates, participating in solemn religious ceremonies, calmly enduring wholesale denunciations by the American press, threatened with death at every turn by bigots, hanged in effigy by infidel groups, and yet so far as outward demeanor went, apparently oblivious of the hounds of death upon his heels. When obliged at last, in January, 1854, to leave, he thought it prudent to accept the suggestion of the Mayor of New York City and to embark quietly from Staten Island in order to avoid any insulting demonstration at the dock as the steamer departed. And all this, because he represented the greatest spiritual power on earth. Bedini's *Relazione Completa*, which he presented to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, in July, 1854, contains the best description of the Church in the United States for the period that we possess. He found the Catholics here well organized and thoroughly united, under seven provincial chiefs, at Baltimore, St. Louis, New York, Cincinnati, New Orleans, Oregon City, and San Francisco. The growth of dioceses was proportionately a large one. The churches and ecclesiastical institutions were numerous, excellently built, and well equipped. Catholics were well represented in the different avocations and professions, with a fair number occupying posts under the Government, federal and state. The two main streams of immigration from the watersheds of Europe, the Irish and the German, he contrasts with a vividness which lacks nothing in its honesty

and originality. Very little escaped the keen and friendly eyes of this wholly impartial Italian diplomat, whose courage no one who reads his correspondence with Archbishop Hughes dare deny. The German Catholics were being badly influenced by a group of German infidels and revolutionists, especially in the large cities. The German press was in the hands of these active plotters against religion and authority, and the rule of the demagogue was apparent in many of their circles. Of the larger Irish immigrant population he noted the strong faith and the attachment of the children of Erin to the Church, but he could not help believing that they were being lost in large numbers. He saw them falling by the wayside through vice and intemperance. Neglect of their religious duties was only too plainly visible in certain parts of the country, and in the lack of priests to administer to them, he saw a deplorable cause of defection Above all, the want of Catholic schools was a chief evil in the Church in the United States. The success of the future depended largely, as he viewed it, in the appointment of bishops of American birth or training. His unfortunate experiences had taught him that in the midst of the "déplorable et affreuse démonstration anticatholique," as he stigmatizes the outrage against him at Louisville, only American-born prelates had the courage to stand firm before the mobs that gathered at his door to insult him. The divisions of the Church into national or racial centers was bound to bring disaster, and he wrote strongly in his Report to Rome against its being permitted to continue. The episcopate of the United States meets fine praise at his hand. What especially struck him was the reverence non-Catholics, as a rule, had for the representatives of the Church.

VII

In 1870, sixteen years later, there are certain changes to record, although the background of Bedini's picture remains practically the same. There were the same number of provinces, with fifty-three diocese and nine vicariates, and with sixty bishops in the different sees. The Catholic population in 1870 was over five millions in a nation of forty millions. In 1880, these statistics are changed again: eleven ecclesiastical provinces with sixty-one dioceses and seventy-two bishops. In 1890, there were thirteen provinces, eighty-seven bishops and a Catholic population of nearly nine millions. Ten years later, the number of provinces was fourteen, and there were ninety-one bishops ruling a Catholic body close to eleven millions. The first decade of the new century found the ecclesiastical organization somewhat increased, with the number of Catholics estimated at fourteen and a half millions. Today the figures given for the Year of Our Lord 1920 include fourteen archbishops, one hundred dioceses, two vicariates, one hundred and ten bishops governing twenty-one thousand clergy, almost seventeen thousand churches, over nine hundred Catholic colleges for boys and girls, six thousand elementary schools, with over a million and a half children at their desks, while the total Catholic population of the United States is estimated as something near to eighteen millions. We lisp in numbers in the United States, especially in dollar-marked numbers, and among the multiplex summaries in the latest (1919) census of the religious bodies in the United States, the value of Catholic Church property is given as $374,206,895

as against $215,104,014 for the Methodists, $164,990,150 for the Episcopalians, and $150,239,123 for the Presbyterians.

VIII

The sources of this remarkable religious growth are many and varied. Chief among them are: liberty of conscience or freedom of worship, immigration, natural increase, conversions, and the Catholic educational system. There were, of course, exceptions to the law of freedom of worship during the one-hundred and thirty-odd years of American national life, and here and there along the way are milestones discernible by Catholics, marking the spot where moral aberrations from the American principle of religious equality have occurred. But these facts are not harbored in a spirit of animosity or revenge, for the Catholic American knows that his Church has nothing to fear when placed under the floodlight of America's highest ideals of liberty. Uprisings "for the further prevention of popery" have come almost at regular intervals, but the Catholic record of patriotic service is a sufficiently conducive test. These uprisings have had more or less as their incentive the fear of the native American that he was being crowded out of his home by the millions who sought peace of conscience and liberty of spirit in the great Land of Opportunity. The history of immigration into the United States has many angles of vision, and not the least interesting is the problem which caused more than an ordinary ripple in Catholic waters during the first half of our period. In the first epoch of classified immigration which began in 1820 and ended in 1870, there came to this country 7,368,000 people. In the second epoch which began in 1870 and ended with the outbreak of the World War in 1914, there came to this country about 24,760,000 persons. Of these a little more than two-fifths came from Western Europe. To say that the great majority of these immigrants came from Catholic countries can hardly be an over-statement of fact. During the past fifty years Catholic societies were formed for the protection and the guidance of Catholic immigrants. Among these are: the Mission of Our Lady of the Rosary, founded in New York in 1881, by Miss O'Brien, the daughter of the patriot, William Smith O'Brien, for the care of Irish immigrant girls; the St. Raphael Society, of New York, founded by Peter Paul Cahensly, in 1883, for the care of German Catholic immigrants; the Austrian Society of New York, founded in 1891, for the care of Austrians; the St. Joseph Society, of New York, founded in 1893, for the Poles; the Jeanne d'Arc Home, opened in New York, in 1895, for the care of French immigrant women; and the Society of St. Raphael, for Italian immigrants, founded in New York in 1891. In 1907, an Association for the protection of Belgian and Dutch immigrants was organized. These organizations do not, of course, limit their charity to Catholics alone, though most of them were formed for the purpose of guiding the members of the Faith in the choice of work and in the selection of homes. If the foundation dates of these societies be kept in mind, it will not be unfair to point out that all this activity was concurrent with the controversy over loss and gain which occupied the attention of Catholic leaders and people during the better part of our period. During these years there was much foolish writing about the losses of the Church in this country.

This controversy gradually centered around Peter Paul Cahensly. The Lucerne Memorial of 1891 made the startling statement that the Catholics of the United States should have numbered at that time twenty-six millions. The actual figure in 1890 was about ten millions, and the inference was that there had been a loss of sixteen millions. This is a restatement of the anonymous pamphlet, *The Question of Nationality*, published in 1889. One of the latest writers on the subject, Archbishop Canevin, has handled the problem in a convincing way. His conclusions are worthy of our attention.

> No body of Catholics in history approached to anything like the marvelous progress which this poverty-stricken, hard-working, unlettered, persecuted, Catholic minority in the United States made between 1800 and 1900. Churches, schools, colleges and universities have sprung up all over the land; institutions of mercy and charity are there to testify to the love of these people for their fellow-man. There could not have been defections and apostasies of millions of Catholics, and at the same time a material and earthly progress of religious institutions and a Catholic virility that have not been surpassed in any nation or in any age. The stalwart faith and loyalty and piety of the Catholics of this country today, their unity and devotion to the Vicar of Christ, the position of the Church in the United States, prove that, amid the conflicts of the nineteenth century, faith and fidelity supported and sanctified the lives and work of those who preceded us, and ought to determine us not to accept without proof the statements of prejudiced minds that the Church has failed in this republic; that our losses have been greater than our gains, especially when we consider that our mission to those outside the fold and gains by conversion have been as great, if not greater, during the last one hundred years than in any country of Europe.

IX

There was undoubtedly at the beginning of our period a very strong sentiment abroad that the leaders of the two dominating races in Church circles were fast preparing for a conflict, out of which would come supremacy for one side alone. This controversy, the first in point of time, during the past half-century, was soon blended into the other problems under fierce discussion from the Third Plenary Council in 1884 down to the end of the century. The literature on the German and Irish question is already a large one. Memorials were sent to Rome by both sides in 1885 and 1886; and in December, 1890, was drafted the Lucerne Memorial asking for foreign bishops in the United States. The Memorial was presented at Rome by Cahensly, and its portent was such that it soon reached the halls of the United States Senate, where Senator Davis made a vicious attack upon its main proposition, namely, foreign representation in the American episcopate. Pamphlets multiplied on both sides, and their authors soon embraced the opportunity of attacking high personages in Church and State. This problem was soon merged into the larger and more intensive one of the School Controversy (1891–92), and this latter problem soon gave way to the more important discussion on "Americanism" which cast a shadow over the Church in America during the last decade of the century. All these difficulties seem very complex to us today, but it is mainly because they are centered around the same personages. The leaders of the hierarchy who were at odds in the German-Irish problem of episcopal representation in the American

Church were foremost in the School Question and still more so in the polemical days of the so-called heresy of "Americanism."

X

To a certain extent, therefore, the great events of the period (1870–1920) have become stabilized in the popular Catholic mind. Besides those already mentioned, those which the American reader would be disappointed in not finding in even a brief review are: the Vatican Council (1870), the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884), the Baltimore Centenary (1889), the founding of the Catholic University of America (1889), in which some of the stirring problems of the period would endeavor to find a lodging, the establishment of the Apostolic Delegation (1893), and the Church in the Great War (1914–1918).

XI

American Catholic interest in the Vatican Council, which temporarily closed its sessions fifty years ago, is just as keen today as when it was bidding Godspeed to its bishops in the autumn of 1869, then on their way to the Eternal City. That interest lies chiefly in the fact that among the Catholic bishops of Christendom at that period, 740 in number, the last of all, James Cardinal Gibbons still presides over his diocese of Baltimore. His personal reminiscences of the Vatican Council are published in his *Retrospect of Fifty Years*. It likewise has a special interest for us in the fact that of the two bishops who voted *non placet* against the decree of Infallibility, one was Bishop Fitzgerald of Little Rock, Arkansas. The pleasantry of the day was: the Little Rock against the Big Rock of Peter. The Vicar-Apostolic of North Carolina, youngest among the 534 who voted *placet* for the decree, returned to the United States with a vision of the Church's power and universality accorded to none of his brethren in the American episcopate today. Seven years later, on October 3, 1877, James Gibbons succeeded Archbishop Bayley, of the family of Roosevelt, thus beginning that long career which is the pride of every American, regardless of creed or politics. The first notable achievement of his career as Archbishop of Baltimore was the Third Plenary or National Council, held in the Cathedral there in November-December, 1884. The inner history of this truly momentous assembly has not yet been written. Two men today know that story, Cardinal Gibbons, the last of the prelates who participated in its sessions, and Bishop O'Connell of Richmond, who was one of the four secretaries of the Council. The proceedings of the Council were made public in two volumes, one in Latin and the other in English. But its inner history will probably never be told. There was opposition, in the first place, to the holding of the Council on account of its being a presidential year, and when it was finally agreed upon in 1883, there was a question whether it should be held in New York, where Cardinal McCloskey and Archbishop Corrigan were presiding, or in Baltimore, the primatial See by popular election, where Archbishop Gibbons was presiding. A committee was appointed to go to Rome for the purpose of arranging the scheme for the Council, and during the months of November and December, 1883, this Committee, composed of bishops and secretaries, was in consultation with the authorities at Rome. They did not find the Holy See very anxious

for the Council, and several surprises awaited the Americans. One was the famous *Instructio*, prepared by Propaganda, containing thirteen heads for discussion and legislation. The Committee was not exactly pleased to find its work thus cut and dried, and it was not long before they intimated to Cardinal Simeoni that insistence upon the Instruction would jeopardize the success of the Council. Eventually the American prelates had their way and a new *schema* was prepared which met with their approval. Another equally interesting episode of these preliminary days was the Sepiacci incident. At the first conference of the Committee, Monsignor Sepiacci was introduced to the bishops as an official having close relations with Propaganda, and as one whose services might be useful. Sepiacci's secretary, Father Stanton, O. S. A., of Philadelphia, fn a forgetful moment let the secret out that Sepiacci was destined to go to Baltimore as Apostolic Delegate to preside over the Council. An article in one of the Italian papers gave the whole project away, and the authorities became alarmed at the opposition Sepiacci's nomination aroused. The matter was soon settled, and Archbishop Gibbons was named to act as Delegate for the Holy See. A year was to pass in preparation for the Council after the bishops' return, and on November 9, 1884, this most important of all episcopal meetings in the United States opened its sessions. Of the twelve titles under which its legislation was enacted, the sixth, on the Education of Catholic Youth, can be taken as a starting-point of another interesting though melancholy episode in American Church history; interesting, because it marks a renaissance of vigorous appreciation of Catholic education, and melancholy, because of the wholly unnecessary quarrel which grew out of it. It is one of the saddest of all episodes in our history and one which can hardly be treated historically. It is too near to us.

XII

Catholic schools with Catholic teachers for Catholic children on a par with State schools have been the rule ever since the beginning of the hierarchy in 1790. The First Provincial Council of Baltimore (1829) laid down the law which has been followed ever since. And the Third Plenary Council decreed, in explicit terms, the obligation of establishing parochial schools in every parish within two years of the promulgation of the Acts of the Council. The noted exceptions to this universal law were at Savannah, St. Augustine, Poughkeepsie, Stillwater and Faribault, where a compromise with the State educational authorities had been reached. The so-called Faribault Plan consisted in giving a certain number of hours a week for religious instruction, to be given free by Catholic teachers, and the rest of the time to be given to secular instruction, to be given also by Catholic teachers, who were to be paid by the State for this latter part of their work. The Faribault Plan allowed the school to be under State supervision. This precipitated the celebrated School Controversy of 1891–1892. The case was discussed rather widely, and was finally brought to Propaganda for decision. The *tolerari potest* of April 21, 1892, settled the fate of the Faribault Plan. Among the protagonists of the School Controversy was the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bouquillon, Professor of Moral Theology at the Catholic

University of America, Washington, D. C., from its opening in 1889 until his death in 1902. Dr. Bouquillon's pamphlet, *Education, To Whom Does It Belong?*, published in 1891, in which he discussed the abstract principles involved in the controversy, brought the quarrel to the University. It was natural that a select group of men, learned in their different sciences, should participate in the problem of Catholic education, and it is for this reason that the Catholic University of America has a history all its own. Favorably considered by the Second Plenary Council in 1866, the idea was allowed to lie dormant until the Third Plenary Council in 1884, when, after one eloquent attack on the project, the Fathers of the Council gave their consent to its creation. It opened its doors in 1889, and it soon became the center of all the important movements in Catholic educational progress. The *annus saecularis* of 1889 is notable for the first Catholic Congress of the United States, held in November, in memory of the hundred years of Catholic life under an established hierarchy, and for the founding of the Catholic University of America at the close of the Congress. An unwritten page in our history, and now lost, would contain the reflections of one who had been Archbishop Benini's secretary, in 1853, and who attended the Congress and the University Dedication, in 1889, Bishop John Vertue, of Portsmouth, England.

XIII

It is not difficult to link the remaining years of the period under review with the Congress. That link can be found in the sermon of Archbishop John Ireland. The note he struck was a good one, but one liable to misinterpretation; one which was indeed misinterpreted to such an extent that ten years later the greatest blow to American Catholic pride came in the *Testem Benevolentiae*, of January 22, 1899, on "Americanism." "A century closes," Archbishop Ireland said, "a century opens. The present is for Catholics in America a most solemn moment. Another speaker has reviewed the past, evoked from its shades the spirits of its heroes, and read to you the lessons of their lives. I will bid you turn to the future. It has special significance for us. The past our fathers wrought; the future will be wrought by us." After discussing the work which was at hand to do and pointing out the place a supernatural faith must have in the progress of the nation, he says: "We should live in our age, know it, be in touch with it. . . . It will not do to understand the thirteenth better than the nineteenth century; to be more conversant with the errors of Arius or Eutyches, than those of contemporary infidels or agnostics. . . . We should speak to our age—of things it feels and in language it understands. We should be in it, and of it, if we would have its ear. For the same reasons, there is needed a thorough sympathy with the country. The Church of America must be, of course, as Catholic as even in Jerusalem or Rome; but so far as her garments assume color from the local atmosphere, she must be American. Let no one dare paint her brow with a foreign tint or pin to her mantle foreign linings." There were those who were only too ready to take up these words to our discomfort; and to tell that part of the retrospect, we must go back a few years to the conversion of a great champion of the Church—Isaac Thomas Hecker.

Born in New York in 1819, Isaac Hecker became a Catholic at the age of twenty-five, and the following year entered the Redemptorists (1845). It was the immigration problem which first attracted his attention after his ordination in 1850, and gradually the idea of going out to the non-Catholics took shape in his mind and that of his four companions, Walworth, Hewit, Deshon, and Baker. A misunderstanding with their Redemptorist Superior arose, and Father Hecker went to Rome to present their case. He was expelled from the Order, but Pius IX authorized him and his four companions to inaugurate a new congregation, which is now known as the Paulists. Hecker was Superior of the Paulists until his death in 1888.

XIV

Within three years from his death, his friend and disciple, Father Walter Elliott, contributed to Catholic literature a biography of the great Paulist leader. The *Life of Father Hecker* was well received after its appearance in 1891. "It was the life of a saintly and devoted man who had spent himself in the work of preaching to Americans what the Church really was, and of persuading them that she assailed neither their personal independence nor their national institutions, while calling upon them to recognize her Divine Authority." The Introduction was from the pen of Archbishop Ireland. The book was translated into French and published in June, 1897, with a Preface by Abbé Felix Klein, then one of the young professors of the Institut Catholique of Paris. This French translation was unfortunately a hasty one, the "adaptation" being rather free and easy. It was the beginning of a controversy which even today can hardly claim more than hazy reasons for its existence. A host of friends and enemies arose. Books, pamphlets, and articles in reviews and newspapers soon multiplied. The strife was a bitter one while it lasted. No one who ventured within the fighting lines was safe. Personalities were the order of the day, and soon all the other difficulties in the American Church found their way to this battlefield. It looked at one moment to the outsider very much like a quarrel between liberals and conservatives within the Catholic ranks, and at another, like the final struggle between the dominant Catholic race sections, German and Irish, in America. This strife was precipitated by an unfortunate misappreciation of Father Hecker's life by an obscure French cleric who published a series of articles in 1897 in the *Verité*, which later were put into book form under the title: *Is Father Hecker a Saint?* Paris was the center of the conflict and those who were jealous of Catholic progress in the United States had no difficulty in finding material to start the battle. This material existed in their eyes in the Preface by Abbé Klein and in the Introduction by Archbishop Ireland, which can be considered from one angle as an amplification of his words at the Centenary in Baltimore in 1889. Some of his statements, taken, as they were then, out of their context, will show the reader how easily misunderstanding could arise:

> Father Hecker was the typical American priest. . . .
>
> It is clear to me as noon-day light that countries and peoples have each their peculiar needs and aspirations as they have their peculiar environments, and

that, if we would enter into their souls and control them, we must deal with them according to their conditions. . . .

The circumstances of Catholics have been peculiar to the United States. . . .

Priests foreign in disposition and work were not fitted to make favorable impression upon the non-Catholic American population. . . .

. . . to make the Church in America throb with American life. . . .

He [Hecker] laid stress on the natural and social virtues. The American people hold these in highest esteem. They are the virtues that are more apparent and are seemingly the most needed for the building up and the preservation of an earthly commonwealth. .

. . . certain Catholics, aware of the comparatively greater importance of the supernatural, practically overlook the natural. . . .

Each century calls for its type of Christian perfection.

. . . each Christian soldier may take to the field, obeying the breathing of the spirit of truth and piety within him. . . .

The work of evangelizing America needs new methods.

This was not a challenge to the Catholic spirit of Europe, but a challenge it was considered, and it was promptly taken up by certain theologians abroad. There were in Europe at the time former professors of the Catholic University of America, who, though foreigners, had been prominent in the School Controversy, and who had quitted their posts in the University between 1894 and 1896. One of these was then in France, and his descriptions of Catholic life here were not written to do us credit. Paris was the intellectual center of the strife and it was Paris that coined the much abused word, "Americanism." In August, 1897, Bishop O'Connell, of Richmond, who was to become Rector of the Catholic University of America in 1903, read a paper on "Americanism" at the International Catholic Scientific Congress at Fribourg. In spite of his very lucid explanation of what the term meant, and of how difficult it was in all honesty to see any conflict between Catholic faith and morals and American ideals and principles, his explanation was not accepted, for the heat of the fight had come, and on January 22, 1899, Leo XIII addressed as a mark of affection to Cardinal Gibbons his Apostolic Letter, *Testem Benevolentiae*. The three main points at issue were touched upon: the adaptation of Christian teaching to our advanced civilization, freedom of spirit in matters of faith and of Christian life, and the division of virtues into passive and active. We are not far enough removed from this controversy to judge with accuracy and precision its rightful place in American Catholic life. It would be indeed difficult to offer any explanation, even a truly historical one, without arousing the suspicion that the problem was not fully understood by the writer. Probably the nearest approach to an adequate interpretation is to see in the "Americanism" controversy the beginning of the heresy of Modernism which broke out in France less than ten years later, and to recognize that French ecclesiastics simply used the *Life of Father Hecker* as a shield.

XV

All these problems brought home to the Holy See the necessity of having a permanent representative on the scene; one who would be charged with the

requisite authority to settle all questions of a minor nature and to transmit in all impartiality the greater problems on faith and discipline to the competent authorities in Rome. There is no need of hiding the fact that in certain quarters of high estate the presence of a representative of the Holy See was not acceptable. In 1889, the Holy See had commissioned Archbishop Francis Satolli to be its representative at the Baltimore Centenary. Francis Satolli was destined to become an unforgettable figure in American affairs. A successful professor of Dogmatic Theology, he had an important share in the neo-Scholastic movement which has given honor to the pontificate of Leo XIII. No man stood closer to Leo XIII, and his presence in the United States in 1889 was taken as a sign that the Holy See would soon ask him to remain in an official capacity. The Sepiacci incident, however, had rendered the plan somewhat onerous. The School Controversy proved the necessity of such an authority in the land, and in 1892, when those in charge of the Columbian Exhibit at Chicago invited the Holy See to participate in the same, Leo XIII sent two very precious maps and other treasures from the Vatican archives, and entrusted them to Archbishop Satolli. After his arrival, it was made known that he brought with him Rome's decision on the School Question. At a meeting of the Archbishops in New York, on November 17, 1892, the famous Fourteen Points or Propositions were read. Satolli stated also that it was the Holy See's intention to establish a permanent Apostolic Delegation in the country. This was done in January, 1893, and that same year saw the rise of the last anti-Catholic society, the American Protective Association. It was admitted by its founder, Henry F. Bowers, that the coming of Satolli was the greatest single stimulus the movement received. The fruit of Satolli's presence in the United States can easily be judged by the Encyclical Letter of Leo XIII on January 6, 1895, on Catholicity in the United States, in which the great Pontiff calls the establishment of the Delegation "a proper and becoming crown upon the work" of the Council of 1884. It has been from the earliest antiquity the custom of the Roman Pontiffs in the exercise of the divinely bestowed gift of the primacy in the administration of the Church of Christ to send out legates to Christian nations and peoples. The purpose of the Apostolic legation and its ultimate aim was to bring about a strengthening of the bonds which united the hierarchy among themselves and the laity with the clergy. Cardinal Satolli accomplished this in an extraordinary and characteristic way, and left for his successors in the Apostolic Delegation a thoroughly equipped center for canonical administration. On November 29, 1895, he became Cardinal, and on October, 1896, he returned to Rome. His successors—Cardinals Martinelli (1896–1901) and Falconio (1902–1911), and the present well-beloved Archbishop Bonzano (1912) have been, especially the last-named on account of his sweetness and charm of character, most successful in assisting the Church here to avoid the unpleasant troubles of the last generation.

XVI

A period of comparative peace set in with the formal establishment of the Delegation, and after the stir created by "Americanism" had died away, the

Church in the United States was left free to cooperate with the nation in the movement which became paramount in the United States down to the outbreak of the Great War, namely, the process of assimilating all the racial elements in the land to the dominant ideals of liberty upon which the American Government was founded. All through these years, one personality dominated American Catholic life, James Cardinal Gibbons. His solution of the Knights of Labor question in 1887 had placed him among the great Americans of our day, and he has since stood out among his brethren in the hierarchy as the best representative of the spirit which has always ruled the bishops since Carroll's day—a sincere and untroubled sympathy with the genius of the American Republic. That he has been in the Providence of God one of America's great leaders is an honor we share gladly with those not of our faith.

XVII

When the United States entered the war in April, 1917, the archbishops of the country were assembled in their annual meeting at the Catholic University of America at Washington, D. C. Headed by His Eminence of Baltimore, they addressed a letter to President Wilson, reaffirming in that hour of stress and trial their most sacred and sincere loyalty and patriotism towards our Country, our Government and our Flag. "Our people," they wrote, "now as ever, will rise as one man to serve the nation. Our priests and consecrated women will once again, as in every former trial of our country, win by their bravery, their heroism and their service new admiration and approval." There is no need of rehearsing the story of the creation of the National Catholic War Council, which was organized after our entrance into the war. The Catholic body of the United States is a large one, of varied interests and varied outlook, and it took time to distribute the welfare work to be done among the fourteen National Catholic societies. Foremost among these was the Knights of Columbus. The National Catholic War Council, with Cardinal Gibbons and the hierarchy at its head, was organized with two large committees—the Knights of Columbus Committee on War Activities and the Committee on Special War Activities. This latter Committee had as its Chairman, Father John Burke, of the Paulist Order, whose Founder, Father Hecker, had done so much to bring about a better appreciation of the identity of American ideals with Catholic doctrine. Of the results of that central organization and of its place in the victory which came to American arms, Catholics are justly proud. Catholic cooperation was swift, effective, honest, and whole-hearted. The soldiers and sailors are the best judges, and their decision has been given in such a way that for all time to come Catholic honor and the Catholic good name are safe from the ill-will of those who find it hard to accept the truth of Catholic loyalty in the past. The National Catholic War Council gave to the Church in America a golden opportunity for national union, and out of the War Council came the National Catholic Welfare Council, begun in April, 1919. An annual meeting of the hierarchy was decided upon, and in September, 1919, the first notable gathering of the Archbishops and Bishops was held at the Catholic University of America. We have the result of this meeting in the Pastoral Letter, of September 26, 1919. The

National Catholic Welfare Council has grouped together the various agencies by which the cause of religion in the United States may be furthered. Several Departments—Education, Social Welfare, Press and Literature, Societies and Lay Activities, and Missions—were decided upon. These Departments are now in process of organization.

XVIII

The year 1920 has closed with great honor to our spiritual leaders. As in 1870, there are among the Archbishops and Bishops Heaven-sent leaders who are destined in the Providence of God to guide the Church during the difficult days ahead. Of the leaders who were with us in 1870, all are gone to their rest and reward, except one, but their sacred inheritance remains in the legislation they effected thirty-six years ago at Baltimore, and in the blessing the Church here enjoys of possessing a living witness of that assembly, one who can instruct us with all the wealth of knowledge and of tradition which is peculiarly his own. The retrospect of fifty years opens with James Cardinal Gibbons in his youth and it closes with the venerable figure of America's greatest Catholic citizen, still enjoying the admiration and reverence of all Americans who are truly devoted to the Republic, and the love and affection of his children throughout the land.

PETER GUILDAY.

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Peter Guilday.

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NOTE.—The contents-page and index of Volume VI will be sent out in April.

THE APPOINTMENT OF FATHER JOHN CARROLL AS PREFECT-APOSTOLIC OF THE CHURCH IN THE NEW REPUBLIC

(1783-1785)

When the Revolutionary War broke out between the Thirteen Colonies and England in 1775, ecclesiastical intercourse between London and the Catholic clergy in the future republic came to an end. There is no record in Bishop Challoner's correspondence of any reference to the Church in America at this time.[1] From 1743, down to the beginning of the Revolution, Bishop Petre of the London District (1734–1758), and his coadjutor and successor, Bishop Challoner (1741–1781), used every available argument with the ecclesiastical authorities at Rome to rid themselves of the burden of ruling the Church "on the mainland and in the islands of North America," by creating a separate Vicariate-Apostolic in English America.[2] Bishop Challoner did not succeed in freeing himself of the unwelcome task of caring for the Catholics in the English colonies. The Holy See was not certain that the Catholics there could support their own Chief Shepherd, and the problem of erecting the colonial Church into a separate jurisdiction was further complicated by two factors: the evident antagonism on the part of the colonial Catholics to the appointment of a bishop over them (1765),[3] and the suppression of the Jesuits in America (1773).[4] It was not until a decade later, when Challoner's successor, Bishop James Talbot, refused to exercise jurisdiction in the matter of giving faculties to two American priests then in England (1783), that the Holy See decided to take action. So far as the English Catholic Church was concerned, there was no evidence of any interest on the part of the London Vicar-Apostolic to provide for the Catholic rebels of the new Republic of the United States. Bishop James Talbot appears but once

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[1] Cf. *Bishop Challoner's American Jurisdiction* (1758–1781), in BURTON, *Life and Times of Bishop Challoner*, Vol. ii, pp. 123–148. London, 1909.

[2] The history of the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the English Colonies has not yet been told in a consecutive manner. There are some historical data in HUGHES, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Text, Vol. ii, pp. 81–83, 85–87, 127, 133, 583. From 1634 (the foundation year of Maryland), down to 1696, the year of the special decree *Alias a particulari*, of Innocent XII, by which an attempt was made to bring harmony between the Jesuits and the Seculars, there is no evidence for the exercise of canonical rights over the Colonies by the ecclesiastical superiors of England. In 1715, it was admitted by the Maryland clergy that they were uncertain whether they were under London or Quebec. With but few exceptions, and those doubtful in their nature, the real assumption of jurisdiction by the London Vicar-Apostolic is synchronous with Challoner's attempt, in 1743, to rid the Church in England of the bothersome colonies. Cf. *The London Vicariate-Apostolic and the West Indies*, article by HUGHES, in the *Dublin Review*, Vol. CXXXIV, pp. 66–93.

[3] Campbell (USCHS *Hist. Records and Studies*, Vol. i, pp. 251–276) treats this aspect of the question in his article: *The Beginnings of the American Hierarchy;* cf. BURTON, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 136–139. For the singular share given to the question of Confirmation in the correspondence between London and Rome at this time, cf. HUGHES *The Sacrament of Confirmation in the Old Colonies*, article in the *Ecclesiastical Review*, Vol. XXV, pp. 23–40.

[4] SHEA, *Hist. of the Cath. Church in the United States*, vol. ii, p. 77 (facsimile of Challoner's order for the Suppression in America); for a facsimile of the Act of Submission, see HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, Vol. ii, p. 607.

in the correspondence of these two critical years in the life of the American Church (1783–1785), and then merely as the recipient of a letter from the Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda, Antonelli, dated Rome, June 19, 1784, advising him that the Church in the United States was free and independent of English rule.[5]

The clergy and the faithful in the Colonies, however, were not acephalous during the war. When the suppression of the Society of Jesus was announced by Bishop Challoner in October, 1773, the acting Superior, Father John Lewis, Vicar-General of the London Vicar-Apostolic, continued to be recognized by the clergy—without exception, all ex-Jesuits—as their legitimate head. After Yorktown (1781), there could have been no question of appealing to Bishop James Talbot, brother of the Earl of Shrewsbury, for guidance; and once the final Treaty of Peace with Great Britain was signed on September 25, 1783, the line of cleavage was complete.

During this time, a General Chapter of the American clergy was called. Meetings were held at Whitemarsh in 1783–1784—from June 27, 1783, to October 11, 1784. A *Form of Government* in nineteen sections; *Rules for the Particular Government of the Clergy*, in six sections; and *Regulations respecting the Management of Plantations*, in eight sections, were passed with the approval of those present.[6] The two principal questions before this Constitutional Assembly of the American clergy were: *the maintenance of ecclesiastical life and discipline;* and, *the preservation of ecclesiastical property*, which by this time had become considerable.

It is the first of these problems which interests us here.

Father Thomas Hughes, S.J., has written four large volumes, entitled *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*, to explain the second.[7]

The Constitution adopted at the last meeting of this General Chapter (October 11, 1784), remained in force until 1805, when the Society of Jesus was partially restored in the United States. (The universal restoration of the Society in 1814, rendered further adherence to the *Rules* and *Regulations* to a great extent unnecessary). In the Proceedings of the Chapter, October 11, 1784, the following resolution was adopted:

> That the Superior in spirituals from the receipt of his faculties be allowed the salary of 100–0–0 sterling per annum, together with a servant, and a chaiz and horse; that his salary continue until the next ensuing meeting of the Chapter, and then be subject to their further determinations. [8]

Before this Second General Chapter met (again at Whitemarsh) in 1786,

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[5] *Propaganda Documents* (cited as PD), pp. 35–36. These *Documents* (on the appointment of the first Bishop of Baltimore), appeared in the original French, Italian, and Latin, in the *American Historical Review*, for July, 1910, pp. 801–829. They were copied at Rome by Professor Carl Russell Fish, while he was engaged on his *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and other Italian Archives* (Washington, 1911), and were translated into English and published by the late American Church historian, Rev. Edward I. Devitt, S.J., in the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, Vol. xxi, pp. 185–236.

[6] HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, Vol. ii, pp. 617–637.

[7] New York (Longmans), 1908.

[8] HUGHES, *op. cit.*, p. 631.

Father John Carroll had accepted the Prefectship-Apostolic of the Church in the United States. His nomination and acceptance form one of the most interesting pages in American Catholic history. The story has never been fully told, and it is impossible to tell it in a strictly chronological fashion, owing to several complicating factors which touch the main issue at certain points. Some of these factors were: Carroll's attitude toward the acceptance of a post of such importance "from a foreign State," to be held only "at the discretion of a foreign tribunal or congregation [Propaganda Fide]"; the expectation of the American clergy in the speedy restoration of the Society of Jesus; the intrigue at Paris—grouped around the Papal Nuncio, Archbishop Doria Pamphili, the American Minister, Benjamin Franklin, the French Prime Minister, Count de Vergennes, the notorious Talleyrand, then Bishop of Autun, and Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect of Propaganda Fide; and the position assumed by the American clergy at Whitemarsh toward the appointment of a bishop for the United States.

Father John Lewis, the last of the Jesuit Superiors of the Mission before the Suppression, continued to exercise a quasi-jurisdiction over the clergy from 1773, down to the first General Chapter in 1783. He can scarcely be said to have had juridic or canonical powers over his brother-priests. There was a sort of gentlemen's agreement that he should be their leader, but his title of Superior was rather an honorary one. The decade has not incorrectly been called by Hughes a period of inaction—"the ex-Jesuits merely stayed at their posts, discharging in a spiritless way their pastoral duties."[9] The missions under their care were extensive, as can be seen from the maps published as appendixes to Hughes' *History*. Two Propaganda documents, published in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, give us an accurate account of the state of Catholicism during this period of inaction which corresponds with the Revolutionary War (1773–1783).[10] The first is a *Relation* drawn up by Father John Mattingly, dated September 6, 1773, in which he tells us that the principal residence of the Society was Port Tobacco, in Charles County. The next in order of dignity was the residence at New Town, in St. Mary's County, which formed a sort of "Collegium," as in the early days of the Jesuit Mission in England. From New Town, the Fathers attended the various congregations within a radius of twenty miles, celebrating Holy Mass on Sundays and Holydays of Obligation. Mattingly's *Relation* gives us a very fair picture of how thoroughly the missions were attended. The want of a bishop to adminster the Sacrament of Confirmation was badly felt, but the antipathy of the nonconformist element in Maryland to the presence of an Anglican prelate made the appointment of a Catholic bishop a serious matter. In another hand, at the end of this document we are told that the Catholics in Maryland and Pennsylvania numbered at the time about twenty thousand. In Pennsylvania there was practically complete freedom of worship. It was somewhat restrained

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 608.

[10] Vol. ii, pp. 317–320. A list of the Jesuit Superiors from 1634 to 1773, will be found in FOLEY, *Records, etc.* (*Collectanea*, part I), pp. 73–74. A biographical list of all the Jesuits who labored in the American Mission is in HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Text, Vol. ii, pp. 676–704 (Appendix F).

in Maryland.[11] The second of these documents, from the same volume of the Propaganda Archives, is apparently of a later date than Father Mattingly's *Relation*. It purports to give a complete *Catalogue of the Jesuit Missions in the United States*. The number of priests was twenty-six at the time. There were twenty-five Scholastics, ten Novices, twenty-five Lay Brothers, and nine Lay Novices—making a total of ninety-five members in the Society. The various missions are given with the approximate distances between the residences of the priests.

Father John Lewis made no attempt to create a central organization for the Church in these scattered missions; and in a letter, dated Maryland, February 20, 1782, from Father John Carroll to his friend, Father Charles Plowden, who was to preach at his consecration at Lulworth Castle, eight years later, we learn that all were not satisfied with the rather loose ecclesiastical system which prevailed at this time:

> The clergymen here continue to live in the old form. It is the effect of habit, and if they could promise themselves immortality, it would be well enough. But I regret that indolence prevents any form of administration being adopted, which might tend to secure to posterity a succession of Catholick clergymen, and secure to them a comfortable subsistence. I said, that the former system of administration (that is, everything being in the power of a Superior) continued. But all those checks upon him, so wisely provided by former constitutions, are at an end. It is happy that the present Superior [Father John Lewis] is a person free from every selfish view and ambition. But his successor may not [be] . . . Ignorance, indolence, delusion (you remember certain prophecies of re-establishment), and above all the irresolution of Mr. Lewis, puts a stop to every proceeding in this matter. [12]

Father Carroll at this time had no official position in the American Church. We find him, however, during this same year, 1782, drawing up a *Plan of Organization* for the clergy.[13] It can be presumed that copies of this were distributed among his fellow priests, for the Chapter of 1783–1784, followed out the main lines of his proposals. The *Plan* is divided into seven paragraphs. Tentative suggestions are given for the maintenance and careful administration of the estates, but nowhere does Carroll imply the necessity of centering the spiritual guidance of the Church under one head. He was preoccupied, as most of his fellow-priests of that day were, with the preservation of the Society's property. "The obligations of justice to the benefactors, who took up or left these estates for pious uses; the sort of consecration which estates from such a destination acquire; the duty of charity to the present and future generations"—these are the motives, and worthy ones, too, for this preoccupation. Rumors were abroad at the time that those who had succeeded in destroying the Society in Europe had designs also upon the temporal possessions of the Jesuits; and Carroll speaks rather emphatically on the question of interference in this regard. Their brethren in England, he said,

[11] "I cattolici delle due provincie di Marilandia e Pensilvania saranno circa ventimila. L'exercizio della religione nella prima è libero; nella seconda è totalmente libero."

[12] HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, Vol. ii, p. 609.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 609–614.

had "rightly distinguished between the spiritual power derived from the bishop, and which must be left in the hands to which he has intrusted it; and the common rights of the missioners to their temporal possessions, to which as the bishop, or Pope himself, have no just claim, so neither can they invest any person or persons with the administration of them."

Carroll's views on foreign interference in temporal matters must be kept in mind when we come to examine his attitude toward the Congregation of Propaganda Fide the following year. In a letter to Father Charles Plowden, dated September 26, 1783, there are several statements which have a bearing on this aspect of the problem under consideration in these pages. He writes for instance, during the time the Chapter was in session:

> Our gentlemen continue, as when last I wrote. We are endeavoring to establish some regulations tending to perpetuate a succession of labourers in this vineyard, to preserve their morals, to prevent idleness, and to secure an equitable and frugal administration of our temporals. . . . Your information of the intention of Propaganda gives me concern no farther than to hear that men, whose institution was for the service of Religion, should bend their thoughts so much more to the grasping of power, and the commanding of wealth. For they may be assured that they will never get possession of a sixpence of our property here; and, if any of our friends could be weak enough to deliver any real estate into their hands, or attempt to subject it to their authority, our civil government would be called upon to wrest it again out of their dominion. A foreign temporal jurisdiction will never be tolerated here; and even the spiritual supremacy of the Pope is the only reason, why in some of the United States the full participation of all civil rights is not granted to the Roman Catholics. They may therefore send their agents when they please; they will certainly return empty-handed. [14]

The following April, 1784, in a letter to the same correspondent, Father Carroll uses language not dissimilar in spirit; this time, however, it is the spiritual jurisdiction of the Congregation which is in question:

> But this you may be assured of; that no authority derived from the Propaganda will ever be admitted here; that the Catholic Clergy and Laity here know that the only connexion they ought to have with Rome is to acknowledge the Pope as Spiritual head of the Church, that no Congregations existing in his States shall be allowed to exercise any share of his Spiritual authority here; that no Bishop Vicar-Apostolical shall be admitted, and, if we are to have a Bishop, he shall not be in partibus (a refined political Roman Contrivance), but an ordinary national Bishop, in whose appointment Rome shall have no share; so that we are very easy about their machinations. Our Brethren have, in a meeting held last October, settled or nearly settled a plan of internal government, which will meet with your approbation, being founded on Christian and rational principles, etc. [15]

It is difficult to say what was the precise cause of the first general Chapter of the clergy, but if one may judge from the material at hand, it was rather the fear of losing hold on the property which had been amassed since 1634,

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 615–616.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 619–620.

than the realization of their singular canonical situation. The Delegates of the three Districts met at Whitemarsh on November 6, 1783. These were Father John Lewis for the *Northern District* (Pennsylvania and the Eastern Shore of Maryland), Fathers John Carroll and Bernard Diderick for the *Middle District* (the Western Shore of Maryland, except St. Mary's and Charles Counties), and Fathers Ignatius Matthews and James Walton for the *Southern District* (St. Mary's and Charles Counties, with Virginia). A committee was appointed, consisting of these five Delegates, for the purpose of preparing a Petition to the Holy See, asking that Father John Lewis be formally constituted Superior of the Church in the New Republic, with certain episcopal privileges—administering the Sacrament of Confirmation, blessing chalices, and delegating priests for the missions. This Petition gives us a clear idea of the attitude of the clergy toward the problem of a hierarchy of jurisdiction in the American Church. It runs as follows:

Most Holy Father:

We, John Lewis, Bernard Diderick, Ignatius Matthews, James Walton, and John Carroll, missionary priests, residing in the Thirteen United States of North America, assembled together from the neighboring stations to take counsel for the good of the missions, our fellow-priests residing in the more remote parts of this mission agreeing herein and approving by letter, in our name and in the common name of our brethren, with all respect represent to your Holiness, that we, placed under the recent supreme dominion of the United America, can no longer have recourse, as formerly, for necessary spiritual jurisdiction to the Bishops and Vicars-Apostolic residing in different and foreign States (for this has very frequently been intimated to us in very positive terms by the rulers of this Republic), nor recognize any one of them as our ecclesiastical Superior, without open offense of this supreme civil magistracy and political government. Wherefore we, placed in this difficult position have recourse to your Holiness, humbly beseeching you to vouchsafe to confirm anew the ecclesiastical Superior whom we now have, namely, John Lewis, a priest already approved and confirmed by the Vicar-Apostolic of London, to whom this whole mission was subject before the change of political government, and to delegate to him the power of granting the necessary faculties to priests coming into these missions, as it shall seem expedient; that said Superior may delegate this power to at least one or more of the most suitable missionaries as the necessity and distance of time and place may require.

Moreover, as there is no bishop in these regions, who can bless the holy oils, of which we were deprived for several years during the confusion of the war, no one to bless the chalices and altar stones needed, no one to administer the sacrament of confirmation, we humbly beseech your Holiness to empower the said John Lewis, priest, Superior, to perform these things in the present necessity, and until otherwise provided for this mission by your Holiness, that our faithful, living in many dangers, may be no longer deprived of the Sacrament of Confirmation nor die without Extreme Unction according to the rite of the Church.

Moreover, we also pray your Holiness to bestow on this mission the indulgences of the Jubilee, and to extend to the missionaries the ample faculties which may seem seasonable in these vast and remote regions racked by a long bitter war, where on account of the constant military movements, neither the

Jubilee on the exaltation of your Holiness to the See of Peter, nor the Jubilee of the year 1775, could be promulgated, much less celebrated or enjoyed.

This, Most Holy Father, is what the aforesaid petitioners, missionary priests in these regions of United North America, humbly solicit from your Holiness' supreme wisdom and providence for the good of the Catholic Religion. [16]

Shea says that this Petition was forwarded through Cardinal Borromeo. Evidently it was presented to Pius VI, as it is still among the Propaganda Archives (America Centrale).[17] When its contents became known to the rest of the American clergy, it was feared by some that it was not sufficiently respectful in tone, and accordingly another Committee, of which John Carroll was a member, was appointed to draft a second Petition. This second request for a Superior contained the modification that they be permitted to elect their own Superior; it declared also that the United States Government would not permit the presence of a Bishop in the country. Father Carroll was instructed to send this second Petition to the Holy Father through a friend at Rome. Accompanying the Petition was a long letter from Carroll instructing his friend on the mind of the American clergy toward the establishment of a hierarchy in the United States. The Revolution, he says, had rendered any exercise of spiritual jurisdiction on the part of the London Vicar-Apostolic impossible and even injurious to the welfare of the Church. It was their duty to preserve and improve the "free toleration" allowed to all Christians in the United States, "by demeaning ourselves on all occasions as subjects zealously attached to our Government and by avoiding to give any jealousies on account of any dependence on foreign jurisdiction more than that which is essential to our religion—an acknowledgment of the Pope's spiritual supremacy over the whole Christian world."[18] Father Carroll's views on the question of an American hierarchy were always guided by this distinction. He could see no other way of meeting fairly and honestly the American attitude toward "foreign jurisdiction," except by the appointment of a Bishop Ordinary, with his See in the United States. He instructs his correspondent, therefore, that the Superior asked for in the Petition, should have episcopal powers. This second Petition arrived too late in Rome to have any appreciable effect upon the action of the Holy See in organizing the American Church. The factor which actually hastened the final arrangement, namely, Carroll's nomination to the Prefectship-Apostolic, was an intrigue at Paris for what Shea not unjustly calls the enslavement of the Catholics in this country.[19]

At the time when the clergy of the new Republic were holding their meetings at Whitemarsh for the purpose of reorganizing Church government under one of themselves as Superior, who would be subject directly to the Holy See, an interesting and significant series of negotiations were being carried on in Europe, and in particular at Paris, the object of which was to place the nascent American Church under French control. France had proven herself a noble

[16] SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 209–211.
[17] *Propaganda Archives, America Centrale*, Vol. 2, No. 8
[18] SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 211.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 213, note.

laly during the Revolution. In December, 1776, an American mission at Paris, presided over by Benjamin Franklin, had formally asked the assistance of the French government in the great struggle for independence. That the policy of France was to take advantage of England's conflict with the American colonies was understood by all at that time. France was still smarting under the defeat she sustained in the Seven Years' War and she was recognized as the chief sufferer among the continental nations which had been humiliated by England. America's independence would be a great check upon the arrogance of the British navy. The Secretary of Foreign Affairs in France at that time, the Count de Vergennes, was not only in favor of immediate intervention in favor of the rebelling colonists, but was also a warm personal friend of Franklin.[20] Burgoyne's surrender, or, as it was called, to spare the English General's feelings, the "convention between Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and Major-General Gates," on October 17, 1777, marked the turning point in the war. From that date down to the victory at Yorktown the Revolution became an international affair. The news reached Paris in December, 1777, and its immediate effect was to hasten the Alliance with France. This was signed on January 17, 1778. Soldiers, money, warships, and supplies were to be furnished to the struggling colonists. Ultimate victory for the Americans was now a certainty. Franklin, in his house at Passy, a suburb of Paris, gathered around him the best men of the French capital, and it was through his shrewdness and statesmanship that the Alliance was kept in vigorous activity until the end of the war. It must be remembered that France was a great Catholic country at this time.[21] The King, Louis XVI, mediocre as he was in statesmanship, was a most Christian King in more than name, and there is no doubt that every aspect of the future of the new nation then coming into existence was discussed between him and his ministers. The French Alliance was denounced by the loyalists in America as "a horror and an infamy worse than the Declaration of Independence. That Protestant colonists should ally themselves with the great Roman Catholic monarchy, the ancient enemy of the Anglo-Saxon race, and ally themselves for the purpose of making war upon their own faithful and loving mother, England, was a depth of degradation to which, they declared, they had thought it impossible for Americans to descend. They saw in it nothing but ruin, and the Romanizing of America under despotic government. For the rest of the war, and even for some time afterwards, loyalist newspapers and writers never wearied of describing the details of this ruin which they saw so clearly appearing. They were sure that parts of America had been ceded to France by secret clauses in the treaty or would be demanded at the end of the war, and at times they named the particular states. French vessels were on their way to America laden with tons of holy water, casks of consecrated oil, chests of beads, crucifixes, consecrated wafers, mass books, and bales of indulgences, besides the wheels, hooks and pincers of the Inquisition."[22]

[20] FISHER, *The Struggle for American Independence*, Vol. ii, pp. 113–115. Phila., 1908.

[21] Cf. *The French Clergy's Gift to America*, in the *Catholic Mind*, Vol. xviii, No. 8 (April, 1920).

[22] FISHER, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 120; cf. VAN TYNE, *Loyalists in America*, pp. 132–136, for an excellent summary of the loyalist point of view.

This lingering spirit of anti-Catholic bias was only too familiar to the Catholics resident in the English colonies. From the foundation of Jamestown in 1607, that spirit was ever vigilant. The colonial charters were incomplete without their laws for the "regulation of Popery." The Catholics of Maryland and Pennsylvania, where the great majority of them lived, were in reality during the Revolution breathing the air of freedom for the first time since 1689.[23] All the iniquitous regulations to hinder Catholic freedom of conscience which stand so accusingly upon the Statute Books of England were used in the colonies by colonial agents to stifle Catholic life. The series of colonial laws—Anti-Jesuit, Anti-Papist and otherwise—were more than mere echoes of British bigotry; they were living weapons for murdering the souls of those whose fathers had fled to America for conscience' sake.

The general impression the reader takes from the documents presented to him in such volumes as those of Father Hughes, is that the Catholics of the colonies, while under British rule, had endeavored to avoid, as far as possible, all open conflict with the bigoted anti-Catholic law of those days. There was more than the mere opinion that a bishop was not necessary in 1765, which induced the 256 Catholic laymen of Maryland to send their letter of protest to Father Dennet, the English Jesuit Provincial, for the war against France, the French and Indian War of the Colonies (1755–1763), had stirred up violent antagonism to all things Catholic. The Catholics of Maryland were openly accused of sympathizing with the French, on account of their faith, and they had been so bitterly oppressed from 1689 onwards that more than one project of migration was discussed at this time.[24] The West Indies seemed a likely refuge in 1727; but later on, during the violent anti-Catholic agitation in Maryland (1750–1760), Charles Carroll and other Catholics of means and prominence were contemplating a migration to French Louisiana. Charles Carroll, while on a visit to his son, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, then a student in France (1756), presented a petition to the French government asking for a grant of land on the Arkansas River.[25] The plan did not succeed; but the two projects—one toward the West Indies, the other toward French Louisiana—show that these English subjects thought any country and government preferable to the intolerance of English rule. In spite of the fact that they were "almost reduced to the level with our negroes, not having the privilege of voting for persons to represent us in the Assembly," as the Catholic petition to Governor Sharpe of Maryland read in 1757,[26] the Catholics of Maryland and elsewhere were among the first to rally to the cause of the Revolution.[27] That their sympathies were with France as against England no one can doubt. All the priests in the Maryland-Pennsylvania Mission had been educated in France, or Belgium, in Colleges which had been set up as a protest to the

[23] HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Text, Vol. ii, pp. 154–205.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 490 *seq.*

[25] A third plan is mentioned by HUGHES, *ibid.*, p. 547.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 546.

[27] GRIFFIN, *Catholics in the American Revolution*, 3 vols., Phila., 1907; RILEY, *The National Debt that American Protestants owe to their Brethren of the Roman Catholic Church.* Annapolis, 1914; O'BRIEN, *A Hidden Phase of American History.* New York, 1919.

prevailing English bigotry of the day.[28] Some of these Colleges, like St. Omer's, had been subsidized by the French King. But this sympathy with things French, which was based upon their educational days in Europe and which was strengthened by the short-sighted penal legislation of the colonies, never dulled the spirit of independence possessed by the clergy and the laity in those days. No group of colonists had less reason for being enthusiastic over the Revolution than the Catholics. The colonial attitude over the Quebec Act (1774), was sufficient to chill Catholic interest in the coming Revolution. But larger interests prevailed, and the pages of American history present the rather significant situation of one Church, persecuted from the very beginning of English colonization, throwing all its efforts into the cause of liberty, and in some cases, like that of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, then the richest private gentleman in the colonies, its wealth as well, and another Church, which had waxed fat and rich on the spoils of ecclesiastical graft and other unworthy measures, holding out to the bitter end against American independence.

It is difficult not to enter upon the story of the effort made in France at this time (1783–1784), to give an organized hierarchy to the Church in the new Republic, without considerable suspicion of all concerned. The leading fact to be kept in mind, however, for a cautious judgment on the whole episode is Franklin's prompt acquiescence in the appointment of John Carroll once the latter's name was seriously considered. The whole episode can be very easily followed in the diplomatic and ecclesiastical correspondence which we have already spoken of as the *Propaganda Documents*.[29]

In the *Instruction*[30] sent by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide to Prince Doria Panphili, Archbishop of Seleucia, and Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, dated January 15, 1783, the Nuncio is reminded that the occasion of the general peace which was to be concluded among the nations of Europe was an important one for the future of the Church in the new Republic across the seas. He is informed that up to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, all the possessions of England on the continent, or on the islands, of America were under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic of London. "The approaching declaration of the independence of all those provinces," he is informed, "will destroy the bonds of their political and civil subordination to the British government; it will thereby destroy all bonds in religious matters, and, therefore, the Vicar-Apostolic of London will be deprived of the influence and direction he has exercised until now in the religious affairs of those provinces.[31] The Nuncio should, therefore, exert his own power with the court of France, to the end that, through the influence which the King has with the leaders of the American Congress, he may obtain the insertion of an article in the

[28] GUILDAY, *English Catholic Refugees on the Continent* (1558–1795), Vol. i, pp. 141, 154, 229, 275, 280, London, 1914; DEVITT, *Bohemia*, in the ACHS *Records*, Vol. xxiii, pp. 97–139; cf. HUGHES, *Educational Convoys to Europe in the Olden Times*, in the *Ecclesiastical Review*, Vol. xxix, pp. 24–39.

[29] See note 5.

[30] For the diplomatic and historical value of these Instructions, cf. CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Recueil des Instructions Générales aux Nonces de Flandre*, pp. iii–ix. Brussels, 1914.

[31] PD, p. 4.

Treaty of Peace "concerning the free exercise and the maintenance of the Catholic religion." His Most Christian Majesty, Louis XVI, was to be approached on the question of assuming the *patronatus* of the Church in the new Republic. A plan for establishing new missions and for sending missionaries to the new Republic was to be discussed, if the opportunity offered itself. A most desirable method of organizing the Church in the United States "would be to establish in one of the principal cities a Vicar-Apostolic, with episcopal character, chosen from among the subjects of the new Republic, who should receive from the Holy See powers for the spiritual government of the Catholics of all those regions, and who, thereafter, should receive the charge of establishing various missionary stations, more or less numerous, according to the requirements of each province."[32] A Bishop Vicar-Apostolic was proposed by the Holy See, not only because he would be able to guide the Church and confer on the Catholics all they needed to render their spiritual life complete, but also because "national jealousy could thus be obviated, by not constraining these new republicans to receive those sacraments [Confirmation and Holy Orders] from foreign bishops."[33] The Holy See recognized that the members of the American Congress might not be willing to allow a Catholic bishop to enter the United States; if such should prove to be the case, a native American might be appointed Prefect, with the title of Vicar-Apostolic, enjoying episcopal power, except for the administration of Holy Orders. The rule is laid down in this *Instruction* to the Nuncio that if a native American should be available for this important post, he should be preferred, whether for the simple Prefecture or for the Vicariate-Apostolic. If an available American should not be found, then Congress should be asked to allow a foreigner to be appointed. It would appear also from the text of the *Instruction* that Congress was to be given the privilege of stating whether the choice was acceptable or not. The maintenance of the new ecclesiastical head in the United States should also be discussed, and in case no help be proffered, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide would be ready to assign an allowance to the new Bishop, to the Prefect, or the Vicar-Apostolic. The Holy See no doubt hoped that if the missionaries who would go to America were Frenchmen, the King would assist them "from his royal and liberal munificence."

Less than a month later, on February 10, 1783, Doria Pamphili replied to Cardinal Antonelli that he had transmitted His Eminence's wishes to the Prime Minister, Count de Vergennes,[34] at a conference held on Tuesday of the preceding week. Article VIII of the peace preliminaries (signed on November 30, 1782), between England and America, had secured religious

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[32] PD, p. 5.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] Charles Gravier Vergennes, Prime Minister of France, born at Dijon in 1717, died at Paris, 1787. Entered the diplomatic service under Chavigny, French ambassador at Lisbon. Appointed in 1750, Minister to Elector of Treves. Six years later, became Ambassador at Constantinople. Recalled in 1768, was later (1771) appointed to Stockholm. Louis XVI gave him the post of Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and it was in this capacity that he concluded the Franco-American alliance on January 26, 1778. Had he lived, he might have prevented the French Revolution.

peace to the new Republic. The Prime Minister saw no difficulty in establishing a Vicariate-Apostolic in America, with an American having episcopal power, and the Nuncio begged him to inform Mr. Franklin, the minister plenipotentiary of the new Republic, that he desired to treat with him on this important matter. The main object of France in the war was American Independence, and while John Jay and John Adams, two of the American commissioners, were very suspicious of the intentions of France, Franklin never lost the fullest confidence in our ally. France had been forced to give up so much for the hard-won independence of the new Republic that it is not surprising to find Franklin willing, probably anxious, partially to recompense France by allowing the government to have control over the Church in the United States.

Cardinal Antonelli replied on March 19, 1783, telling the Nuncio what a great consolation his letter of February 10, had been to all in Rome. He is especially cheered by the hope that Catholic missionaries will be tolerated in the United States and that a native Vicar-Apostolic will be permitted to reside in the new Republic. Six months were to pass before the Nuncio was able to report on the results of his promised interview with Mr. Franklin. On September 1, 1783, two days before the definitive Treaty of Peace was signed, Doria Pamphili wrote to the Cardinal, telling him that he was transmitting a *dossier* of three papers, marked A, B, and C, respectively, relating to the organization of the Church in the United States, and giving to the Prefect a complete account of the negotiations entered into up to that date:

> I have the honor of transmitting to Your Eminence, herewith, three papers marked A, B, and C, respectively, and relating to the establishment of apostolic missions in the new republic of the United States of North America, which matter was committed to me. The first is a copy of a note or memorandum, that I sent to Mr. Franklin, minister plenipotentiary of the new republic, the second and third are copies of a note of Mr. Franklin and of some observations made by him on the subject of my note just mentioned. In order to take time to send a categorical reply to Mr. Franklin, I merely acknowledged the receipt of these papers, in which your Eminence will find Mr. Franklin to be of opinion that our court, or, in other words, the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, will be free to take all measures that may be useful to the Catholics of America, without infringing the constitutions, and that the congress will not fail tacitly to approve the choice that the Sacred Congregation may make, in concert with the minister plenipotentiary of the United States of a French ecclesiastic, who, residing in France, may regulate the affairs of Catholics in America, through a suffragan there. In this connection, I am of the opinion that, rather than a French ecclesiastic, the apostolic nuncio for the time being in France, in concert with that Sacred Congregation, might, himself, invest an ecclesiastic with the character of bishop, of prefect, or of vicar-apostolic for the government in question. There being in America, as Mr. Franklin says in his note C, no college or establishment in which a Catholic ecclesiastic may receive the instruction that it is necessary for him to have, nor the hope of a public appropriation for such a purpose, Your Eminence will recognize that recourse must be had to other means in this connection, and that those suggested by Mr. Franklin in his note C, concerning the four establishments

of English Religious that exist in France, could not, and should not, be proposed, much less, accepted. The last paragraph of that note deserves all attention, tending as it does, to the attainment of desirable ends. I have thought it well to give information of the contents of these papers to the Count of Vergennes, a true statesman, full of zeal and attachment for our holy Catholic religion; and as I begged of him to facilitate the means of establishing a college in France for the education of as many priests as may be necessary for the spiritual welfare of the Roman Catholics who now are, or may come to be, in the States of the new republic, the royal minister, assuring me that he will give all the assistance that it may be in his power to lend in that connection, suggested that I speak to Monseigneur the bishop of Autun, minister of ecclesiastical benefices of this realm, in order that he, by his lights, and by his good offices, may assist in the establishment of the proposed college, at St. Malo, Nantes, L'Orient, or any other city of France, near the coast, it being necessary, however, first to obtain the requisite funds, and to know, approximately, the number of priests that the Roman Catholics of the United States may need, and whether there be in that country, individuals inclined to undertake the studies and to adopt the ecclesiastical state. Accordingly, I had an interview with Monseigneur the bishop of Autun, on Wednesday, and we agreed to confer together, on Saturday of last week, with the Count of Vergennes. To this end, on the day appointed, I went to Versailles, and the Count of Vergennes, as well as the above-named prelate, showed himself to be desirous of obtaining the funds necessary for so important an end. While this matter is being thought over, I trust that your Eminence will give me what information you have in regard to the mission of North America, and will obtain further information from the prelate who is in charge of that mission, requesting him to give the number of priests that are in those states, and the number of them that may be needed there. In quest of this information, after receiving the answer of Your Eminence, I will endeavor to obtain that the Count of Vergennes write to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, who has been minister plenipotentiary of the Most Christian King to the United States of North America for the last three years, and who is much esteemed and loved there. On the other hand, Your Eminence will deign to inform neither the ecclesiastic just mentioned nor any one else, with the exception of the Holy Father, of my negotiations with the Count of Vergennes and with Monseigneur the bishop of Autun, since it is question, as yet, of a mere project, of which it would not be well to speak before it be realized, or developed sufficiently not to be frustrated by any one who may regard the proposed establishment unfavorably. Ready ever to comply with the revered commands of Your Eminence, I subscribe myself, with all homage,

Of Your Eminence,
the Very Humble, Devoted, and Grateful Servant,
G. Archbishop of Seleucia.

Paris, September 1st, 1783. [35]

The first note (Note A) is a copy of a memorandum which the Nuncio had sent to Mr. Franklin on July 28, 1783, requesting him to transmit the same to the American Congress and to support it with his influence:

[35] PD, pp. 8–11.

Note A

Before the revolution that has just been consummated in North America, the Catholics and the missionaries of those provinces were in spiritual dependence upon the Vicar-Apostolic residing at London. It is obvious that this arrangement can not be continued; but, as it is essential that the Catholic subjects of the United States have an ecclesiastic to govern them in what concerns their religion, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, which exists at Rome with a view to the establishment and preservation of the missions, has determined to propose to the Congress the installation of one of their Catholic subjects, in some city of the United States of North America, with the powers of Vicar-Apostolic and with the character of Bishop, or simply as Prefect-Apostolic. The establishment of a Bishop Vicar-Apostolic seems to be preferable, all the more, since this would enable the Catholic subjects of the United States to receive confirmation and Holy Orders in their own country, instead of being obliged to go to foreign countries to receive those Sacraments; and as it might happen, at times, that no one be found among the subjects of the United States qualified to be entrusted with the spiritual government, whether as Bishop or as Prefect-Apostolic, it would be necessary in such cases that Congress be pleased to consent that the choice be made among the Bishops of a foreign nation, the most friendly to the United States. [36]

Shea tells us that the Nuncio transmitted also to the French Minister in the United States, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, a similar letter addressed to the Senior Catholic Missionary in the United States. Note B is a résumé of Franklin's reply to the Nuncio. The American Minister, after mature reflection on the matter contained in the Nuncio's letter of July 28, decided that "it would be absolutely useless to send it to Congress, which, according to its power and constitution, cannot and should not in any case intervene in the ecclesiastical affairs of any sect or religion established in America." Mr. Franklin was of the opinion that the Holy See was entirely free in taking whatever measures which might be useful to the Catholics of America, without infringing the Constitution, and that Congress would not fail to give a tacit approval to the choice made by the Sacred Congregation. But, as the Note goes on to say, it was understood that the choice in question would be "of a French ecclesiastic; who, residing in France, may regulate the spiritual affairs of the Catholics who live, or who may come to establish themselves, in those states, through a suffragan residing in America."

Note B

Observations on the Note of M. the Apostolic Nuncio.

Mr. Franklin, after reading the note of M. the Nuncio and reflecting upon it maturely, believes that it would be absolutely useless to send it to the Congress, which according to its power and constitution cannot, and should not, in any case, intervene in the ecclesiastical affairs of any sect or of any religion established in America. Each particular state has reserved to itself by its own constitution the right to protect its members, to tolerate their religious opinions and not to interfere with the matter, as long as they do not disturb civil order.

[36] PD, p. 11.

Mr. Franklin is therefore of opinion that the Court of Rome may take, of its own initiative, all the measures that may be useful to the Catholics of America, without disregard to the constitutions and that Congress will not fail to give its tacit approval to the choice that the Court of Rome in concert with the minister of the United States may make of a French Ecclesiastic who, residing in France, may regulate the spiritual affairs of the Catholics who may live or who may come to establish themselves in those states through a suffragan residing in America.

Besides many political reasons that may make that arrangement desirable, the Apostolic Nuncio must find in it many others that may be favorable to the intentions of the Court of Rome. [37]

A third NOTE (C) contained a most surprising suggestion. The Cardinal Prefect had laid stress on the necessity of maintenance for the Vicar-Apostolic of the new Republic, and Franklin suggests to the Nuncio that, since there is in America no college or establishment where a Catholic ecclesiastic might receive the necessary preparation, the four monasteries of the English Benedictine monks, the annual revenues of which amounted to almost 60,000 livres, might be used for this purpose. "It is possible," so runs NOTE C, "that the King of France, to please the Court of Rome and to strengthen the bonds of friendship with the United States, would permit these establishments to train, instruct, and in part support the ecclesiastics who would be used in America."

Note C on American Catholics

The American revolution, by separating the interest of the colonies from those of the mother country changes the relations that bound the Catholics of America with those who live on the English dominion. The unity of the present governments seems to require that those bonds be diminished and weakened by taking from the British ministry all influence over the subjects of the United States.

In the greater number of the colonies, there is no endowment, no fixed revenue, for the support of a clergy of whatever denomination; legislation, viewing this subject from the standpoint of a more general freedom, has been unwilling to make a public charge of a tax that should be only voluntary and private. Neither is there a college or public establishment where a Catholic ecclesiastic may receive necessary instruction. These are two equally essential points to be considered.

There are in France four establishments of English monks, the total revenues of which may amount to 50,000 or 60,000 livres. These monks are few. The want of subjects makes those who remain useless at least.

It is possible that the King of France, to please the Court of Rome, and to strengthen the bonds of friendship with the United States, would permit these establishments to train, instruct and in part support the ecclesiastics who would be used in America.

It would be expedient that one of the Bishops named by the Holy See should be a subject of the king, residing in France, in a position, always, to act in accordance with the Nuncio of His Holiness and the American minister, and to adopt with them the means of training the ecclesiastics, which might be agreeable to Congress and useful to American Catholics. [38]

[37] PD, p. 12.
[38] PD, pp. 12–13.

From these three memoranda it is clear that a definite policy regarding the American Church had been decided upon between March and September, 1783. Cardinal Antonelli's concession that a foreigner might be chosen as head of the American Church was evidently being made capital of in Paris, and whoever originated the scheme, found in Franklin a willing tool in the project of subjecting his Catholic fellow-citizens to a foreign superior, nominated by French influence and residing in France. The Nuncio was not favorably disposed toward the suggestion that the property of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation be confiscated for the purpose of educating priests for the American Mission.[39] Vergennes also saw the injustice of Franklin's proposal and intimated to the Nuncio that Talleyrand would be the proper official to consult in this aspect of the affair. By September, 1783, therefore, the French scheme was fully developed. Besides a French Vicar-Apostolic for the United States, with episcopal character, who would rule the Church here through a suffragan or Vicar-General, an American Seminary was to be erected in one of the seacoast towns of France, supported by the revenues of the English monastic establishments in France which were to be confiscated for this purpose. How much money would be necessary for the project would depend upon the number of priests needed in the United States. The Nuncio called on Talleyrand and a conference was agreed upon between Doria Pamphili, Talleyrand, and Vergennes at Versailles. The Prime Minister and the Bishop of Autun both showed themselves desirous of carrying out the American Seminary idea. Accordingly, the Nuncio was directed to ask at Rome for further information on the American mission, namely, the number of priests already in the states, and the number that was still needed for the Church there. The Nuncio intended also, he tells Antonelli, to ask Vergennes to inquire from de la Luzerne, then French Minister at New York, "and who is much esteemed and loved there," for information on these two points.

As we have seen, the American clergy, although ignorant up to this time of the intrigue, had already begun to create their own organization during the peace year (1783–1784). The Whitemarsh meeting of the clergy on June 27, 1783, had decided upon a Chapter Form of Government. Father John Lewis, the Vicar-General of the London Vicar-Apostolic up to the outbreak of the war, was the acknowledged head of the Church in the United States down to the General Chapter of the American Clergy, on November 6, 1783, when his nomination as Superior for the whole Mission was sent to Rome. News of the proceedings of the June meeting had no doubt been reported to the Nuncio, for his letter of September 1, 1783, as has been seen above, contains a rather emphatic suggestion that silence on the whole plan should be kept: "On the other hand, Your Eminence will deign to inform neither the ecclesiastic just mentioned [the Superior of the Mission in the United States] nor anyone else, with the exception of the Holy Father, of my negotiations with the Count de Vergennes, and with Monseigneur the Bishop of Autun, since it is question, as yet, of a mere project, of which it would not be well to speak before it be

[39] Cf. TAUNTON, *The English Black Monks*, Vol. ii, chapters xvii–xix, London, 1897.

realized, or developed sufficiently not to be frustrated by anyone who may regard the proposed establishment unfavorably."

There were, indeed, several quarters from which opposition might legitimately be expected. The English Benedictines in France had dwindled to a mere shadow of their former greatness, St. Edmund's Monastery, in Paris, for example, being reduced to such a state that during the latter half of the eighteenth century "it was seriously considered whether it would not be as well to disband the house altogether."[40] All the English religious houses in France were indeed to be swept away in the whirlwind of the French Revolution ten years later, their sequestration taking place on February 18, 1793, a few days after the declaration of war between England and France;[41] but no religious order, with the great antiquity of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation behind it, could acquiesce without a protest in the heartless project contained in Franklin's NOTE C to the Nuncio. There was a lack of generosity in the plan, if, as Taunton states, Benjamin Franklin during his stay in Paris (1776–1784). was a constant guest at St. Edmund's Monastery, in Paris.[42] Another source of opposition was naturally the American Catholics themselves. Priests and people were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of independence—at that time more intense in American life than ever afterwards; and the proposal to place them under a "foreign prince or potentate," was obnoxious to a nation which had just forged its way to freedom, and at such awful cost. Whether the English Benedictines became aware of the Franklin proposal we do not know. Both Taunton and Ward are silent on the matter, and both had access to archives which should have contained documents on the subject, had it been discussed.

We know that the French Vicar-Apostolic project was first made known to Carroll through former English associates. Carroll expresses his great surprise in a letter to Plowden, dated September 15, 1784, that his old friend Dr. Franklin had become a party to the Nuncio's intrigue,[43] which, however, was not meeting with the success its leaders expected. On September 27, 1783, Antonelli wrote to the Papal Nuncio at Paris, telling him that the Holy Father, Pius VI (1775–1799), had greatly commended his zeal and sagacity in having obtained the active cooperation of Vergennes and Talleyrand "in this salutary work." He reminds the Nuncio that "this Holy Congregation does not withdraw from its original offer to assist in the support of a Vicar-Apostolic endowed with episcopal character, or of a bishop, if this should be preferred, whom it will be necessary to put at the head of the Catholics in the United States." Very wisely, Antonelli rejected "without further discussion" the Franklin project of suppressing the four monasteries of English Benedictines in France. Antonelli's letter of this date is one of the most interesting in this correspondence:

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[40] *Ibid*, Vol. ii, p. 287.
[41] WARD, *Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England*, Vol. ii, p. 78, London, 1909.
[42] TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 285.
[43] SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 218, note.

[Rome], *September* 27, 1783.

Your Lordship has so well begun the great matter of a plan for missions in the provinces of the new republic of the United States of North America that I do not doubt that you will soon bring it to a most happy termination. The Holy Father, who has been informed of your action, has greatly commended your zeal, and your sagacity in having interested the Count of Vergennes and Monseigneur the bishop of Autun in this salutary work, the former, for his protection as worthy prime minister, the latter, for the subsistence of the new workers, in view of his ministry of ecclesiastical benefices in that kingdom. This Holy Congregation, however, does not withdraw from its original offer to assist in the support of the Vicar-Apostolic endowed with the episcopal character, or of a bishop, if this should be preferred, whom it will be necessary to put at the head of the Catholics in the United States.

Conformably with the judicious suggestions of Your Lordship, the following points should be established:

I. The proposition of Mr. Franklin, to suppress the four monasteries of English Benedictines that exist in France, should be rejected, without further discussion. Besides the odium that would be aroused in the nation, which would be highly displeasing to the pacific and generous spirit of His Most Christian Majesty, grievous injury would be done to the missions of England, if the four monasteries in question should be suppressed, since the English Benedictine congregation, which furnishes nearly forty missionaries who work for the good of souls in England, would be reduced to the one monastery that, with the four in France, constitutes the total number of the convents of that worthy congregation.

II. The Nuncio to France, as Your Lordship opportunely suggested to Mr. Franklin, should have the supervision of these American missions, as is the case with the Nuncio at Brussels for the missions of Holland, and he would come to an understanding with the minister of the United States at Paris, whenever it was necessary to act in accordance with him for the greater good of those missions. This arrangement would also be compatible with an agent of the Vicar-Apostolic, or of the Bishop to be established in the United States, at Paris, in the person of some French ecclesiastic, who, upon occasion, would act in concert with the minister of those States and with the nuncio. It is to be desired that, some day, this new republic may have a Catholic minister at Paris; but, in the present circumstances, in which the minister is heretical, possibly Presbyterian, or Non-Conformist, which are the dominant sects in those states, it would be desirable to have a French ecclesiastic in private correspondence with the head of that mission, saving always the formal correspondence between the nuncio and the minister.

III. It was suggested above, and is repeated now, that it appears very necessary to establish that the superior, who is to have jurisdiction over all the Catholics of the American Republic, be invested with the character of bishop, with the title of Vicar-Apostolic, or, if acceptable, that he be the bishop of a diocese in that country. He may take his title from any city in the provinces of that republic that may seem to be the one best adapted for his residence. As the greater number of Catholics are in Maryland and in Pennsylvania, it would appear that the residence should be established in one of these two states; but it will be better to determine this point according to what may be most satisfactory to the minister and to the states. There is no doubt

that all the missionaries should depend upon the Vicar-Apostolic, or bishop, and receive from him their powers and destination among the various stations, according to requirements. And, to that end, the Prelate will be invested with the most ample powers, as for instance, those of the first formula.

IV. As to the subjects to be chosen, for the vicariate-apostolic, or the episcopacy, as well as for missionaries, present conditions seem clearly to indicate that they should be taken from among the ecclesiastical subjects of His Most Christian Majesty. But if in time any native should be found available for the sacred ministry, there is no doubt that the Vicar or Bishop would be free to ordain him, and to employ him in the missions.

V. It would be most useful to establish a college for the sole benefit of these missionaries, at Nantes, St. Malo, l'Orient, or some other place, near the ocean; but it may be foreseen that the magnitude of the idea would make its realization difficult. It is clearly understood that Monseigneur d'Autun, by his favor, could overcome all obstacles; but great and expensive things, as would be the creation of a new college, should not be sought.

VI. Consideration might be given, therefore, to the idea of increasing to some extent the income of the Seminary of Foreign Missions, where ecclesiastics, already, are trained for the East Indies; or, better still, the Seminary of Saint Esprit, the ecclesiastics of which are destined to the missions of South America, at Cayenne and Guiana, imposing upon it the obligation of maintaining there, for the present, a reasonable number of ecclesiastics, to be sent under the suggested authority in America to the provinces of the United States. If, to begin, eight or ten missionaries are sent, besides the vicar, or bishop, this will provide sufficiently for the needs of the faithful in question, the number of whom is not precisely known to this Holy Congregation, which is also without exact information of the number of the old workers, who, for the greater part, were of the suppressed Society of Jesus; for, neither directly, nor through the Vicar-Apostolic of London, has news been received concerning those Catholics, of whom some information was sent to Your Lordship in the instruction of the 15th of January of the present year.

VII. If the number of workers suggested should prove to be insufficient, it will be time, then, to think of other means of study for a greater number of subjects, and it will be possible, even, if there be a desire to form a national clergy, to establish at the college of the Propaganda, here, two or three places for Americans, as has been done for so many nations of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Your Lordship, however, who is better informed of the state of affairs, will know which of the points noted above should be communicated to the minister, and which not; upon this point, His Holiness and this Congregation repose on your known zeal and activity, of which there are so many exceptional proofs; and thanking Your Lordship for the letter which you enclosed from Monseigneur the Vicar-Apostolic of London, I remain, with all esteem, heartily yours. [44]

The hierarchal character of the French project as outlined by Antonelli was as follows: At the head of American ecclesiastical affairs would be the Papal Nuncio in Paris, who would, as Ordinary, act with the knowledge and understanding of the American minister in Paris, "whenever it was necessary

[44] PD, pp. 14–17.

to act in accordance with him for the greater good of those missions." Subordinate to the Nuncio would be a French Vicar-Apostolic or Bishop, with an official agent at Paris, who would act in concert with the American minister and with the Nuncio. Antonelli hoped that some day the new Republic might have a Catholic minister at Paris; but until that should occur, it would be best to have a French ecclesiastic act as agent for the American mission. Apart from this, there would always be, he explained, "the formal correspondence between the Nuncio and the minister." The third point in Antonelli's letter is quite significant: It is becoming more evident, in fact, it appears very necessary, to appoint a bishop for the United States, who should have his See in that country. Since the greater number of Catholics live in Maryland and in Pennsylvania, it would appear, he says, that the Bishop's See should be established in either one of these two states. Whoever is appointed, whether as bishop or as Vicar-Apostolic, should have episcopal jurisdiction over the Church in the states. The choice of an ecclesiastic to occupy this post is clearly indicated by present conditions—"he should be taken from among the ecclesiastical subjects of His Most Christian Majesty." Not only was the ecclesiastical head to be chosen, but the missionaries also for the Church in the new Republic, from among the French clergy. It might happen, in time, Antonelli adds, that if an American be found available for the sacred ministry, "there is no doubt that the Vicar or Bishop would be free to ordain him, and to employ him in the missions." It may be necessary for the reader's benefit to emphasize the fact that the ecclesiastic who thus describes the early American Church was not only a Cardinal but was also the Prefect of the Congregation which had for its purpose the propagation of the faith in non-Catholic lands. There were means at his disposal for a thorough acquaintance with the state of the American Church, but those means were seldom employed. The interest shown in the organization of the Church in the United States in these early years was mainly political and financial, and from this date down to the first Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829, no impartial reader will be able to accuse the Roman authorities of accurate knowledge of American Catholic affairs in general or of American conditions, geographical and otherwise, in particular. The American clergy will be at the mercy of meddlers and at the mercy of ignorant chiefs in the Congregation to which they are obliged to look as to their superiors, until an Archbishop of Baltimore breaks the restraint the American clergy must have felt, and appeals directly to the Pope in a letter which lacks nothing in its indignation at the sad situation in which Roman curial ignorance had placed them.[45]

Antonelli's letter of September 27, 1783, must have been written with cognizance of the plans formulated by the American clergy. He persists,

[45] Archbishop Neale to Pope Pius VII, Georgetown, March 6, 1817. Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. iii, p. 34. Cf. Marechal's *Report of 1818* in the CHR, Vol. i, pp. 439–453. An interesting side-light on the situation will be found in S. B. MORSE (of telegraph fame), *Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberty of the United States*, p. 141. New York, 1835; it was published originally under the pen-name "Brutus," in the *New York Observer* (1834–1835).

however, in the American Seminary project. He directs the Nuncio's attention to the idea of combining the Seminary project with either the Seminary of Foreign Missions or the Seminary of the Holy Ghost in Paris. If the income of either of these establishments was to be augmented for the purpose by Talleyrand, they could be required to furnish a certain number of missionaries for the missions in the United States. Eight or ten missionaries, he thinks, would be a sufficient number to send to the United States; but of this he is not quite certain, because the number of Catholics in the United States "is not precisely known to this Holy Congregation, which is also without exact information of the number of the old workers." Later on, he deems, there might be room for a national American College at Rome, for the formation of a national clergy.

On December 15, 1783, Franklin wrote to Vergennes that the delay in the spiritual organization of the American Church was causing him some concern:

> I understand that the Bishop or spiritual person who superintends or governs the Roman Catholic clergy in the United States of America resides in London, and is supposed to be under obligations to that Court and subject to be influenced by its Ministers. This gives me some uneasiness, and I cannot but wish that one should be appointed to that office who is of this nation and who may reside here among our friends. I beg Your Excellency to think a little of this matter and afford me your counsels upon it. [46]

"But for this positive evidence," says Shea, "we could scarcely believe that Dr. Franklin lent himself to a plan for treating his Catholic countrymen in this manner and helping a conspiracy to subject them not to a Superior chosen from among themselves, but to one nominated by the French Court and residing in France."[47] Franklin certainly had opportunities in Paris of learning that the Vicar-Apostolic of London had exercised no jurisdiction over the Church in America from the outbreak of the Revolution, and Bishop Talbot's refusal to recognize the American Church as part of his charge was too well known at the time to have been ignored by one so fortunately placed as Franklin. On receiving Franklin's letter, Vergennes made a memorandum, which shows that the Prime Minister was not altogether satisfied about the French Vicar-Apostolic plan, and that he was better acquainted with the situation than Franklin. "Mr. Franklin," he says, "represents that since the Bishop governing the Catholic Clergy in America resides in London, it is to our interest to name someone for that charge who could reside in the United States." Franklin had already consulted Archbishop de Cicé of Bordeaux on the Seminary subject, doubtless at the suggestion of Talleyrand, as we learn in a letter from de Cicé to Vergennes, dated December 27, 1783:

> I regard it a duty, Count, to inform you of the proposition just made me by Mr. Franklin. The object is to secure to religion among the Catholics of the United States more order and facility in the number and choice of ministers necessary for them. I reasonably presume that in this matter Mr. Franklin is the interpreter of the wishes of his Catholic fellow-citizens. He seems to

[46] ACHS *Researches*, Vol. xi, p. 190.
[47] *Op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 215.

desire that to attain more securely what they propose, they should have in France a titled ecclesiastic, appointed to provide for the wants of the Church. [48]

The truth is that Franklin was not only acting blindly in the whole affair, but was proceeding without the knowledge of the Catholic leaders in the new Republic. Certainly his wishes regarding the chief pastor of the flock in the United States were at variance with those of the American clergy, as evidenced in the Whitemarsh meeting of 1783–1784. The Archbishop of Bordeaux, while not a party to the enterprise, was brought into the affair, on account of the Bordeaux American Seminary scheme, of which the correspondence speaks often during these two years. Cicé acted very cautiously, albeit generously, in the matter. Among the *Franklin MSS.* at the Library of Congress (fol. 2617), there is a letter from the Archbishop of Bordeaux to Franklin, assuring him of his eagerness to second the worthy efforts of Talleyrand and the American minister to supply the American Mission with priests, but asking for more detailed information before he gave his consent to the Bordeaux project.[49]

It would appear, from a letter of Antonelli to Doria Pamphili, of June 9, 1784, that Talleyrand had first made the proposition that one of the Seminaries in Bordeaux be used for the American Seminary project.

Meanwhile Vergennes' commission to Luzerne had not been neglected. That worthy French Catholic gentleman had consulted with the leaders of the American Republic and on January 31, 1784, he wrote to Vergennes from Annapolis, stating that while Congress did not wish to take any action in the matter which was beyond its competency, the delegates had assured him that a Catholic bishop would be very well received. That part of the letter which touches on the subject is as follows:

> Monseigneur the Apostolic Nuncio has made some propositions in the name of His Holiness to Doctor Franklin in regard to the sending of a Bishop or a Vicar-Apostolic whom the Holy Father desires to place over the Roman Catholic Churches of this continent. The Congress has respectfully welcomed that overture; it has been unable, however, to take action in this matter, which is not of the competency of Congress. It is a matter that concerns the Catholics alone; and the delegates who have spoken to me on the subject have assured me that a Catholic bishop would be very well received in the state of Pennsylvania and much more so in Maryland, where there are many Catholics, providing the prelate carefully avoided to assume any temporal jurisdiction or authority. The Congress, in general, would be pleased at the residence of a prelate, who by conferring the sacrament of Holy Orders on the priests of these parts, would relieve them of the necessity of receiving it in London or in Quebec, as has been done in the past. Some of the delegates even believe that a Catholic bishop would not refuse to confer Holy Orders on the Anglican ministers of America, who, until now, have been obliged to procure their ordination at London; but this practice does not seem to me to be compatible to the profession that those who receive Holy Orders must make or with the examination that they must undergo. The State

[48] *Ibid*, p. 216.
[49] Cf. ACHS *Researches*, Vol. xxvii (1910), p. 345.

Legislatures and Congress refrain from entangling themselves with religious matters. [50]

This letter was no doubt communicated at once to the Nuncio, who probably sent it to Propaganda. On May 11, 1784, as we read in the *Secret Journals of Congress*, one of the resolutions passed was to the effect that Dr. Franklin be requested to notify the Nuncio at Paris of the American policy of non-interference in religious affairs:

> *Resolved*, That Doctor Franklin be desired to notify the apostolic nuncio at Versailles, that Congress will always be pleased to testify their respect to his sovereign and state; but that the subject of his application to Doctor Franklin, being purely spiritual, is without the jurisdiction and powers of Congress, who have no authority to permit or refuse it, these powers being reserved to the several states individually. [51]

This resolution could not have reached Franklin before the end of the summer, but the shrewd American Minister had already reached the same conclusion. Antonelli, likewise, was beginning to see the wisdom of appointing one of the American missionaries. Writing to Luzerne, under date of May 12, 1784, he states that the Sacred Congregation desires full information of the condition of the Church in the United States. (The four points of information asked for are those which Father Carroll eventually answers on March 1, 1785, in his *Relation*)—

> Before the American revolution, the Catholics and missionaries of those states, in what concerns religion, were under the vigilance and direction of the Vicar-Apostolic residing in London. That revolution having separated the interest of the United States from those of England, and having entirely changed the government of those states, the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda has seen the necessity of taking other measures for the government of these missions; hence, Monseigneur, the Archbishop of Selecia, Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, was charged by this Congregation to make on that subject to the Congress of the United States some proposition, not less useful to religion and to the spiritual assistance of the Catholics than acceptable to the government of those States.
>
> Monseigneur the Nuncio mentioned the matter to Mr. Franklin, who, however, answered that, having seriously reflected on it he considered it absolutely useless to refer the question to the Congress, which, by its constitutions and faculties, could not, and should not, entangle itself in ecclesiastical affairs, and consequently, that it was in the power of the Court of Rome to take all measures that might be of advantage to the Catholics in America, without offending the constitutions. After receiving this answer, the Congregation, by order of His Holiness, instructed Monseigneur the Nuncio to agree with the ministers of His Most Christian Majesty, and with the minister of the United States, upon the most desirable means of giving to the missions of North America the stability and development of which they might be capable.
>
> His Most Christian Majesty having wished, on such an occasion, to give a new proof of his piety and of the interest that he takes in the preservation and extension of the Catholic religion in all parts of the world, found no difficulty

[50] PD, pp. 19–20.
[51] Vol iii, p. 493. Boston, 1821.

in agreeing to a plan that is no less useful to the Catholics of the United States than to the government of those provinces; but, to establish a stable condition of things, and to forestall all the objections and difficulties that might present themselves in its realization, it is necessary to have certain information that may make it possible to compass that object.

1st. To have exact knowledge of the conduct and capacities of the ecclesiastics and missionaries who are in the various provinces of North America; which one of them would be the most worthy, and the most acceptable to the assembly of those provinces, to be created Bishop *in partibus* and invested with the character of vicar-apostolic, considering that it will be desirable to fix the residence in that province in which there is the greatest number of Catholics.

2d. If there be among those ecclesiastics a native of the country who may be among the most worthy, in equality of merits, he would be preferred to any of another nationality; and whenever the provinces would be in lack of missionaries, a Frenchman will be sent to establish himself there, residing in the province suggested above.

3d. To know the number of the ecclesiastics and missionaries, as, also, that of the Catholics in the different provinces and their area, assuming that the greater number of them is to be found in Pennsylvania and Maryland. It would be well, however, to know the same in regard to the other provinces.

4th. To know if there be schools in those provinces, where the Latin language may be learnt, and where those youths who wish to prepare for the ecclesiastic state may have studied the humanities before repairing to France or to Rome for the study of philosophy and of theology.[52]

On this same date, May 12, 1784, the Nuncio also wrote to Luzerne, at New York, asking him to assist Propaganda in ascertaining full knowledge of the state of affairs in the Church of the United States. He incloses a letter which he has drawn up by order of Propaganda, which he begs Luzerne to deliver "to one of the oldest missionaries of those provinces." He does not touch in this inclosed letter on the subject of the Bishop Vicar-Apostolic or on the manner of his selection, but he adds that "the ex-Jesuit, Mr. Carroll of Maryland, has been spoken of to me with eulogy, this Carroll being the same who was educated at St. Omer, and who, in 1776, was sent by the Congress to Canada, with Mr. Franklin and other commissioners. I hope that Your Lordship will be pleased to give me information concerning him, and will let me know whether you consider him worthy to be named bishop *in partibus* and vicar-apostolic."[53]

Shea intimates that this came about through the English Jesuits, who had become aware of the French intrigue, and he states that Plowden, Carroll's great friend, on hearing of the intrigue, wrote at once to Franklin to dissuade the American minister from the French scheme. Fathers Sewall and Mattingly, natives of Maryland, were then in England, and they added their protests to that of Plowden, explaining to Franklin that out of respect and consideration for the missionaries then in the United States no appointment should be made without their participation and consent. Plowden states this to Carroll in a letter dated September 2, 1784. It is not certain that this intervention

[52] PD, pp. 20–22.
[53] *Ibid*, pp. 22–23.

preceded the letter of the Nuncio to Luzerne of May 12, 1784, but from this time on the French scheme was doomed. Franklin's eyes were opened, says Shea, and as he knew John Carroll personally, "he must have felt not a little chagrined to find himself made even indirectly the medium of impeaching the loyalty of the Carrolls and other patriotic American Catholics, priests and laymen. It is certain that he at once determined that sound policy required him to favor the appointment of an American missionary as Superior of the Catholics in the United States, and he certainly from this time exerted all his influence to press the appointment of Rev. Mr. Carroll, to whose qualifications he could bring the testimony of personal knowledge and daily intercourse for a considerable period."[44]

Meanwhile, the project was dragging itself tediously to an end. On May 17, 1784, Doria Pamphili wrote to Antonelli (referring to his letter of April 26), stating that, on May 3, a conference was held at Versailles on the very important matter of the government of the missions in the provinces of the new Republic of the United States of North America, with Vergennes, Talleyrand, and himself present. The Prime Minister read Luzerne's dispatch from Annapolis of January 31, 1784. The Nuncio gave an abstract of His Eminence's letter of September 27, 1783. The chief matter discussed at the conference was the supply of the clergy for the American missions. It was decided that the Nuncio should send two letters; one to Luzerne and the other to one of the missionaries in America (those mentioned above, May 12, 1784), asking for information on the needs of the Church in the United States. The place to educate the students for the American Missions was also discussed. Paris, it was decided, would not be desirable, since only philosophy, canon and civil law, and theology were taught in the Seminaries there. The students would need a college education before beginning these studies, and for this purpose Talleyrand suggested that the Archbishop of Bordeaux, an intimate friend of the Bishop of Autun, should be asked to arrange for the reception of these students in one of the Seminaries in Bordeaux.

Since Mr. Franklin had spoken to him of the merits and good reputation of Father Carroll, the Nuncio hopes that the Holy See will be pleased to hear this, and he avers that Franklin and many members of Congress would welcome Carroll's appointment to the vicariate to be established in America.

The letter which the Nuncio inclosed in his dispatch to Luzerne, on May 12, 1784, addressed to "one of the missionaries living in America," was as follows:

> The interests of religion requiring that new information be had of the missions that are established in the United States of North America, the Congregation of the Propaganda has ordered me to ask you for detailed information of the present conditions of those missions. I beg of you to let me know, at the same time, what number of missionaries would be necessary for the service of those stations and to secure spiritual assistance to the Catholic subjects of the United States; which are the provinces where there are Catholics, and where the greatest number of Catholics are to be found, and lastly, whether there be, among the natives of that country, subjects available

[44] *Op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 216-218.

> to receive Holy Orders and to exercise the functions of a missionary. I will be very thankful to you, personally, for the precision and celerity with which you may be kind enough to procure and to forward this information for me. [55]

Luzerne had probably left for France when the letter arrived, and the chargé d'affaires, Marbois, informed Reyneval, Vergennes' secretary, on August 15, 1784, that he had sent the letter to Mr. Charles Carroll, asking him to give it to the oldest missionary. Shea says that this letter was addressed by the Nuncio to the Rev. John Carroll.[56] This is no doubt incorrect. Mr. Charles Carroll was asked by Marbois to give it to the oldest missionary and he relieved himself of responsibility in the matter by sending it to his cousin, Father Carroll. Father Carroll was not the oldest missionary, nor was he the Superior of the clergy at that time, but he was known to Franklin, and his reply would probably have greater weight with that statesman in the matter under consideration. On May 31, 1784, the Nuncio informed Antonelli that he had sent to Vergennes copies of the two letters of May 12, one to Luzerne and one to the oldest missionary.

On June 9, 1784, the whole matter was brought to an abrupt close by the action of the Holy See in appointing John Carroll "head of the missions in the provinces of the new Republic of the United States of North America." This action had a double effect: that of officially ending the jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic of London over the Catholics in the former English Colonies, and that of giving to the Church in the United States its own autonomy under the jurisdiction of Propaganda. We have for this date, June 9, 1784, a letter from Antonelli to the Nuncio, which states that John Carroll had been appointed Prefect-Apostolic of the United States on that day, and refers to the fact that prior to the Nuncio's dispatch of May 17, 1784, the Congregation of Propaganda had received the Petition from the priests in America in which they requested that Father Lewis should be constituted their Superior. Antonelli inclosed copies of these letters for the Nuncio's perusal, and pointed out that Carroll's name is in the last place among the nominees sent by the American missionaries. "This fact shows," he says, "that Carroll has not cooperated with the earnest solicitation of Mr. Franklin in his behalf, and, consequently, it has helped to give him the preference over Lowis [*sic*], who, moreover, being 64 years of age, as the letters in question show, would seem to deserve a rest. We are not informed of the age of Carroll [he was then 49 years old], but it may be assumed to be a much more vigorous one than that of Lowis [*sic*] since he is named last in the petition."[57]

A second letter of this same date, June 9, 1784, inclosed in the one to the Nuncio and addressed to Father Carroll, which the new Superior received on November 26, 1784, announced officially to the Church in America the decision reached by the Holy See:

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[55] PD, pp. 27–28.
[56] *Op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 221.
[57] PD, p. 30.

Rome, June 9, 1784.

Very Rev. Sir:

In order to preserve and defend Catholicity in the Thirteen United States of North America, the Supreme Pontiff of the Church, Pius VI, and this Sacred Congregation have thought it extremely proper to designate a pastor who should, permanently and independently of any ecclesiastical power, except the same Sacred Congregation, attend to the spiritual necessities of the Catholic flock. In the appointment of such a pastor, the Sacred Congregation would have readily cast its eyes on the Rev. John Lewis if his advanced age and the labors he has already undergone in the vineyard of the Lord, had not deterred it from imposing on him a new and very heavy burden; for he seems to require repose rather than arduous labor. As then, Rev. Sir, you have given conspicuous proofs of piety and zeal, and it is known that your appointment will please and gratify many members of that republic, and especially Mr. Franklin, the eminent individual who represents the same republic at the court of the Most Christian King, the Sacred Congregation, with the approbation of his Holiness, has appointed you Superior of the Mission in the thirteen United States of North America, and has communicated to you the faculties, which are necessary to the discharge of that office; faculties which are also communicated to the other priests of the same States, except the administration of confirmation, which is reserved for you alone, as the enclosed documents will show.

These arrangements are meant to be only temporary. For it is the intention of his Holiness soon to charge a Vicar-Apostolic, invested with the title and character of bishop, with the care of those states, that he may attend to ordination and other episcopal functions. But, to accomplish this design, it is of great importance that we should be made acquainted with the state of the orthodox religion in those thirteen states. Therefore we request you to forward to us, as soon as possible, a correct report, stating carefully the number of Catholics in each state; what is their condition, their piety and what abuses exist; also how many missionary priests labor now in this vineyard of the Lord; what are their qualifications, their zeal, their mode of support. For though the Sacred Congregation wish not to meddle with temporal things, it is important for the establishment of laborers, that we should know what are the ecclesiastical revenues, if any there are, and it is believed there are some. In the meantime for fear the want of missionaries should deprive the Catholics of spiritual assistance, it has been resolved to invite hither two youths from the states of Maryland and Pennsylvania, to educate them at the expense of the Sacred Congregation in the Urban College; they will afterwards, on returning to their country, be substitutes in the mission. We leave to your solicitude the care of selecting and sending them. You will make choice of those who have more promising talents and a good constitution, who are not less than twelve, nor more than fifteen years of age; who by their proficiency in the sanctuary may give great hopes of themselves. You may address them to the excellent archbishop of Seleucia, Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, who is informed of their coming. If the young men selected are unable to defray the expenses of the voyage, the Sacred Congregation will provide for them; we even wish to be informed by you frankly and accurately of the necessary traveling expenses, to serve as a rule for the future. Such are the things I had to signify to you; and whilst I am confident you will discharge the office committed to you with all zeal, solicitude and fidelity, and more than

answer the high opinion we have formed of you, I pray God that he may grant you all peace and happiness.

L. Card Antonelli,
Prefect.

Stephen Borgia,
Secretary.[58]

Father Carroll received the news of his appointment from several sources, namely—a) August 20, 1784, Father Thorpe's letter of June 9, from Rome; b) September 17–18, 1784, Father Charles Plowden's letter of July 3, from England; c) November 7–8, 1784, Barbé de Marbois' letter of October 27, from New York; d) November 26, 1784, Cardinal Antonelli's letter of June 9, from Rome.

(*a*) Father Thorpe's letter of June 9 announced his appointment, the nature of the faculties imparted by Propaganda, particularly the power of administering Confirmation, and stated that as soon as the necessary information of the state of the Church in America reached Propaganda, the Holy See would promote him to the dignity and character of a Bishop. This letter Carroll presented to his brethren at the Whitemarsh Chapter on October 11, 1784. The Chapter passed three important resolutions based upon the decision that a Superior *in spiritualibus* was adequate "to the present exigencies of religion in this country": (1) That a Bishop was unnecessary; (2) that if one be sent [*i. e.*, not elected by themselves], he hould not be entitled to support from the clergy estates; (3) that a Committeeof Three [Fathers Diderick, Matthews, and Mosley] be empowered to send a *Memorial* to Rome against the appointment of a Bishop.[59] This *Memorial* was prepared at once; and on December 9, 1784, Father Bernard Diderick wrote to Carroll as follows:

Port Tobacco, December 9, 1784.

Rev. Sir: We send you a copy of the letter we have drawn up to send to Rome. We hope it will not be disagreeable to you, as your intended promotion seemed to give you much uneasiness. We should be happy, in case of a bishop's being appointed here, that you should be the person, as we have not any objection to your person and qualities. But as we look upon it to be unnecessary, and hurtful to the good of religion, we have sent this letter according to what was determined in chapter.

We are, with due respect, Rev. Sir,

Your most obed't and humble servants,
BERNARD DIDERICK,
IGNATIUS MATTHEWS.[60]

The *Memorial* was as follows:

Most Holy Father:

Of the twenty-two secular priests living in the thirteen United States of North America, six were appointed a few months ago to deliberate together upon the welfare of the Catholics in this part of the world. Having assembled for this purpose, they expressed the opinion that there is not the least

[58] SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 243–245.
[59] HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, Vol. ii, p. 633.
[60] *United States Catholic Magazine*, Vol. iii, p. 797.

necessity for a bishop in this country, because there is no institution as yet for the education of youth and their subsequent preparation for holy orders. I, Bernard Diderick, have been requested by the committee to notify your holiness of this sentiment, and to acquaint you also with the following circumstances:

1. The majority of the Protestant population here are averse to a Roman Catholic prelate, and for this reason the episcopal office if introduced would most likely awaken their jealousy against us.

2. We are not able to support a bishop in a manner becoming his station, and at the same time to supply the necessary wants of our fellow laborers in the ministry; moreover, the Catholics cannot be induced to aid us with their means in effecting this object.

3. Were it even admitted that the two points just mentioned would present no difficulty, we are entirely at a loss to see how the greater number of missionaries, whose cooperation would be so very desirable in this immense region, could be furnished with the means of passing to this country.

We therefore humbly entreat your holiness not to persist in the design of conferring the episcopal dignity upon any individual in these parts, unless the necessary provision be made in some other quarter for his support. Should your holiness entertain a different view, it would be a source of much affliction to us, while at the same time we are convinced that it will be much more detrimental than otherwise to the interest of religion; for, as it has pleased your holiness to appoint one of our body to administer confirmation, consecrate altar-stones, bless the holy oils, and grant dispensations in the prohibited degrees, this appointment is equally advantageous for the good of religion. [61]

Carroll's sentiments on the *Memorial* are well expressed in a letter to Father Thorpe, dated February 17, 1785, copied from the original brouillon in the Baltimore Archives, which follows in its chronological place in this series of documents on the question.

(*b*) Father Charles Plowden's letter of July 3, 1784, which Carroll answered on September 18, 1784. (He mentions having received the news already from Father Thomas Talbot, the Procurator of the dissolved English Jesuit Province). "I do assure you, dear Charles," he wrote, "that nothing personal to myself, excepting the dissolution of the Society, ever gave me so much concern. And, if a meeting of our gentlemen to be held on the 9th of October agree in thinking that I can decline the intended office without grievous inconvenience, I shall certainly do so." [62]

(*c*) The letter of Barbé de Marbois, French Chargé d'Affaires, at New York, dated October 27, 1784, reached Carroll on November 8. "I congratulate myself," Marbois says, "in being one of the first to assure you that this choice will give general satisfaction." Accompanying the letter was the dispatch from Cardinal Antonelli to "Mr. John Carroll, Superior of the Missions in the thirteen United States of North America," authorizing him to publish the Jubilee of 1775–1776, which was specially extended to the

[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 797–798.
[62] HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, Vol. ii, pp. 632–633.

United States. The proclamation of this Jubilee was the first official act of the new Superior.

(*d*) The official documents of his election to the Superiorship sent by Cardinal Antonelli on June 9, reached him on November 26, 1784. Cardinal Antonelli's letter, as given above, emphasized the one point in the official decree of appointment which gave Father Carroll most concern, namely, the nature and the extent of his dependence on Propaganda.

Shea has summed up the effect of this letter in the following paragraph:

> The action of the Holy See had given the Catholics in the United States a separate organization; but among priests and people who had just emerged from the oppressed condition so long maintained by the penal laws, the temporary tenure of the Prefect, his absolute dependence on the Propaganda, and the extremely limited powers given him, were the source of much uneasiness. [63]

No one felt more uneasy over the embarrassing situation caused by his appointment than Father Carroll himself. We have seen how decided his views were from the beginning on the question of having the American Church under what he and others called "Foreign domination." The appointment was not at all to his liking. "He had a decided repugnance to accept any position, and especially one merely at their pleasure, from the Congregation de Propaganda Fide; to accept it hampered by restrictions and little power for good was a step from which he shrank." The action taken by the Chapter in October, 1784, left him free to decline the appointment. Our only means of following his deliberations on the question of acceptance is in his correspondence with his fellow priests, as a result of a Circular he issued about this time to the clergy announcing his appointment and asking for their guidance in the matter. This circular contained the statement:

> Nothing but the present extreme necessity of some spiritual powers here, could induce me to act under a commission, which may produce, if long continued, and it should become public, the most dangerous jealousy. [64]

Some of this correspondence has survived, and in a special manner, the letters of his two friends of Philadelphia, Fathers Molyneux and Farmer, are important, for they undoubtedly had a great share in his decision. Father Molyneux had been in correspondence with Carroll all through the year 1784, owing to the Wharton-Carroll controversy, and had been instrumental in securing important data from the library of James Logan for Carroll's reply to the apostate. Shortly after Father Thorpe's letter had become known to the clergy, Father Molyneux wrote to Carroll, September 18, 1784, telling him of the great joy he experienced in learning that the Holy See had chosen Carroll for the post. "It is our humble opinion," he wrote, "that you should not hesitate one moment in giving your consent. *In negotio tanti momenti digitus Dei, haud dubium est.* We shall henceforth esteem it our duty daily to remember you *ad altare.* May God grant us all grace to be ever thankful, and by our lives and conversation show that we are not undeserving. It has

[63] *Op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 245–264.
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 251, note.

been my uniform opinion that no one was so fit for the sacred character."[44] This sentiment he reiterates in letters dated from Philadelphia, November 18, November 25, and December 7, 1784. "A refusal on your part," he writes, "or an objection on that of any of our gentlemen [the ex-Jesuits] might prove fatal to their fortune and existence in this country, and perhaps so to the cause of religion." Father Farmer to whom he showed his letters urged Carroll to reply at once to Propaganda, accepting the post.

In the Baltimore Archives (Case 9A–F1) there is the rough sketch of a circular, dated January 12, 1785, which Carroll issued regarding the Jubilee of 1775–1776. "The commencement of this grant is to date from November 28, 1784, and it is to be in force till November 28, 1785. A commission was sent me at the same time to publish it in all the countries subject to these states." At the end of this letter is the announcement that, until "I have better opportunity of conversing with the several gentlemen, to fix a general and equitable rule for keeping lent for all the different Congregations, I request each of you to make such regulations (for this year) for those under your charge, as you shall in prudence think proper." This is the language of a Superior. Father Carroll had evidently concluded to accept the Prefectship-Apostolic by this time, but before doing so he decided to place the whole affair with its proper light before the authorities at Rome. A long letter, written on February 14, 1785, to his friend Father Thorpe at Rome, is a summary of the ecclesiastical situation created by his appointment. The rough draft of the *Letter*, with many erasures and corrections, is in the *Baltimore Archives* (Case 9A–F1.) It is here printed for the first time in full; Shea has only used excerpts from it:

Maryland, near Georgetown, Feb. 17, 1785

The official information of the advices sent by you June 9th, 1784, was only received Nov. 26th. I did myself the honour of writing to you on the subject, immediately after receiving your letter, which was about the 20th of August, and of thanking you most cordially for your active and successful endeavours to render service to this country. I say successful, not because your partiality, as I presume, joined to that of my old and chearful friend Dr. Franklin suggested me to the consideration of his Holiness; but because you have obtained some form of spiritual government to be adopted for us. It is not indeed quite such as we wish; and it cannot continue long in its present form. You well know, that in our free and jealous government, where Catholics are admitted into all public councils equally with the professors of any other Religion, it will never be suffered that their Ecclesiastical Superior (be he a Bishop or Prefect-Apostolic), receive his appointment from a foreign State, and only hold it at the discretion of a foreign tribunal or congregation. If even the present temper, or inattention of our Executive, and legislative bodies were to overlook it for this and perhaps a few more instances, still ought we not to acquiesce and rest quiet in actual enjoyment; for the consequence, sooner or later, would certainly be, that some malicious or jealous-minded person would raise a spirit against us, and under pretence of rescuing the State from foreign influence, and dependence, strip us per-

[44] USCM, Vol. iii, p. 376-379.

haps of our common civil rights. For these reasons, every thinking man amongst us is convinced, that we neither must request or admit any other foreign interference than such, as being essential to our religion, is implied in the acknowledgment of the Bishop of Rome, by divine appointment, head of the universal Church; and the See of St. Peter being the center of ecclesiastical unity.

I am well aware that these suggestions will sound ungrateful at Rome, and that the mention of them from us will be perhaps imputed by some of the officers of the propaganda to a remaining spirit of Jesuitism; but I own to you, that tho' I wish to treat with them upon terms of sincere unanimity and cordial concurrence in all matters tending to the service of Religion, yet I do not feel myself disposed to sacrifice to the fear of giving offence the permanent interests of Religion. I mean candidly and respectfully to state our present situation; the spirit of our people; and the sentiments of the R. Catholics, the principal of whom are ready and desirous to transmit to Rome their opinion on the probable consequences of such a spiritual government, as is laid down in my dispatches from yr city. Whether I shall transmit their opinion under their own signature, I am yet uncertain; I would wish to avoid giving the Congregation, or any other person the smallest reason to suspect a cabal to defeat their measures; and if plain and honest representation will not succeed with them, I should fear the effects of intemperate obstinacy.

That you may judge of these matters yourself, I must inform you, that my dispatches contained, 1st decree of the Congn. of the Propgda., appointing me Superior of the Missions in the Thirteen U. States, ad suum beneplacitum . . . cum auctorae ea exercendi, quae ad earundem Missionum regimen pertinent, ad proscriptum decretorum sacrae Congnis. et facultatum eidem [mihi] concessarum et, non alias nec alio modo. 2-ly An order from his Holiness, empowering me to administer Confirmation. 3-ly A letter from Cardl. Antonelli, advising that His Holiness has extended to these States the Jubilee of 1776. 4-ly Another letter from him and one likewise from the Nuncio at Paris, desiring me to send two youths to be educated in the College of the Propgda. 5-ly In the same letter Cardl. Antonelli wishes to know the number of our Clergy, and the amount of their incomes: for tho' the Congregation means not to meddle in temporalibus, yet conceiving and believing there are Church possessions here, it is proper for them to know how many Clergymen can be maintained from them. 6-ly He further informs that his Holiness means hereafter to appoint a Bishop Vicar-apostolic; but neither insinuates when or whom. 7-ly In the faculties sent me, which with respect to matrimonial dispensations, are too much restricted, for our exigencies. I am particularly charged to grant no powers or faculties to any who may come into this country, but those quos sacra Congregao. destinaverit et approbaverit. Thus you see the outlines of our future Ecclesiastical government, as it is planned at Rome.

Our objections to it are—1st We conceive our situation no longer as that of missioners; and the Ecclesiastical constitution here no longer as that of a mission. By acquiring civil and religious rights in common with other Christians, we are become a national Catholic Clergy; Colleges are now erecting for giving general and liberal education; these Colleges are open, both to masters and scholars of every religious denomination; and as we have every reason to believe, that amongst the youth trained in these different

Colleges, there will be frequently some inclined to the Ecclesiastical State we Catholics propose instituting a Seminary to form them to the virtues of their future state, and to instruct them in Divinity. Thus we shall in a few years, with the blessing of providence, be able to supply this country with labourers in the Lord's vineyard, and keep up a succession, if we are indulged in a Bishop. We are not in immediate want of one, and it will be more agreeable to many of my Brethren not to have any yet appointed; but whenever the time for it comes, we conceive that it will be more advantageous to Religion and less liable to give offence that he be an ordinary Bishop, and not a Vicar-Apostolic, and be chosen and presented to his Holiness by the American Cath. Clergy. 2-ly For two reasons we think it improper to be subject in our Ecclesiastical government to the Propaganda: the first is, that not being missioners, we conceive ourselves, not a proper object of their institutions; and the second is, that tho' our free and tolerant forms of Government (in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania) admit us to equal civil rights with other Christians, yet the leading men in our respective States often express a jealousy of any foreign jurisdiction; and surely will be more offended without submitting to it in matters not essential to our faith. I hope they will never object to our depending on the Pope in things purely spiritual; but I am sure there are men, at least in this State, who would blow up a flame of animosity against us, if they suspected that we were to be so much under the government of any Congn. at Rome, as to receive our Superior from it, commissioned only during their good will; and that this Superior was restricted from employing any Clergyman here, but such as that Congregation should direct. I dread so much the consequences of its being known that this last direction was ever given, that I have not thought it proper to mention it to several of my Brethren.

With respect to sending two youths, I shall inform Propaganda that it would surely be very acceptable to have children educated gratis in so religious a seminary; and very acceptable to us all to have a succession of ministers of the altar thus provided for: but, as I suppose, they will not receive any into their College, but such as shall afterwards be subject to their government; and it being yet uncertain what effect my representations may produce, I shall delay that measure till further information.

I shall in the meantime request permission to give faculties to other Clergymen, than those sent by the Propgda., of whose virtue and talents I shall have sufficient documents. For want of this power, the Catholics in the Jersies, N. Y., the great Western Country, bordering on the lakes, and the Ohio, Wabash, and Mississippi (to say nothing of many in the N. England States and Carolinas) are entirely destitute of spiritual succours. The Catholics in some of these Settlements, have been at the expence of paying the passage of some Irish Franciscans, providing for their subsistence, and in erecting places of worship. These men have brought good testimonials; but I am precluded from giving them any spiritual powers.

I should deem it a singular happiness to have an opportunity of conferring with a person of your experience of the air of Rome, before these representations are given in. But our distance is so great, that I must act according to the best of my own and Brethren's judgment, and commit all I can to your prudent management. At a meeting of some of us last autumn, it was ordered that £. St. 20–0–0 should be remitted to you as a feeble acknowledgement of our sense of your services and to defray your expence of attendance, etc.

Mr. Ashton, who is chosen to be our Manager general, either has or soon will transmit the necessary orders for it. Tho', since my late appointment, I do not intermeddle in our temporal concerns, yet I shall not fail to suggest the propriety of fixing on you, as our agent, a permanent salary: it will be proportioned, not to your zeal and services, but to our poor ability. At the same meeting, but after I had left it thro' indisposition, a direction was given to Messrs. Diderick, Mosely, and Matthews to write you a letter (I believe likewise a Memorial to the Pope) against the appointment of a Bishop. I hear that this has displeased many of those absent from the meeting, and that it is not certain, whether the measure is to be carried into execution. Mr. Diderick has shown me a copy of his intended letter to you, of his Memorial, and of a letter to Cardl. Borromeo. He has no other introduction to write to this worthy Cardinal than the information communicated to me by our common friend Plowden, of his great worth and friendly disposition to you. I made objections to some parts of his letters; and I cannot tell as I mentioned before whether they will be sent. It is [a] matter of surprise to me that he was nominated to the commission of Three; he is truly a zealous, painstaking Clergyman; but not sufficiently prudent, and conversant in the world, or capable of conducting such a business with the circumspection necessary to be used by us towards our own Government, and the Congn. of the Propaganda.

My long letter must have tired you. But it has been so earnestly recommended to me to give you very minute intelligence, that I have ventured to trespass on your patience. I have two things more to request: 1st. that you would please to present us all, and myself in particular, to Cardl. Borromeo, as penetrated with a lively sense of his virtue, and earnestly suing for his good offices to the service of Religion in this Country, wherever they can be usefully employed. 2-ly that you would let Mr. Thayer know (for I hear from Plowden that he is at Paris, and corresponds with you) that I shall be happy in being favoured with an epistolary intercourse with him: and in confidence of your introduction, I shall probably write to him before I have your answer.

The little leisure I have lately had, has been taken up in writing and publishing an answer to Wharton's pamphlet, which was held up as unanswerable by our adversaries, whom the elegance of his language, and their ignorance in Religious controversy equally contributed to deceive. I have desired Mr. Talbot to transmit you a copy by the first opportunity. I doubt, I have not made my court to a certain party at Rome by my note on the destruction of the Society. Be pleased to charge with us all postage and other expences on our acct. A credit shall be placed in England for discharging them.

With perfect esteem,
I have the honour to be, Dr Sir,
etc. etc.

Mr. Thorpe.

The ease with which the French intrigue had progressed became clearer to Father Carroll through his correspondence with Father Plowden. On September 21, 1784, Father Plowden wrote a complete exposé of the whole project, and his letter contained the following important message:

Although I know you to be incapable of mistaking the right line of conduct upon this occasion, yet, I think it the part of a friend to send you whatever information I can obtain. My meaning is not to advise or instruct you, but only to enlarge your prospect. I must repeat that there are certainly some oblique views, most probably directed to the property of the American mission, and to the obtaining superiority over the missionaries. The note delivered to the nuncio proves their wishes to exclude every Jesuit from trust or honor, and equally betrays the policy of the French ministry ("the nation most friendly to congress"), who, by bringing forward a Frenchman, or perhaps an Irish-Frenchman, would use religion as an instrument to increase their own influence in America. Our friend Thorpe's memorial, delivered to the Pope, along with your petition, by Cardinal Borromeo, convinced the propaganda that the introduction of an alien would overthrow the mission. I wish you may quickly be turned into an ordinary from a bishop in partibus, and am persuaded the pope could not refuse you the powers, &c., if your election by your own clergy, were abetted by your provincial assembly. We wish you to be as free as the bishop of Quebec, or the new archbishop of Mohilow. I wish to know in what light the leading men in the states consider your appointment. If they are disposed to tolerate it, surely they would be more willing to admit a bishop only dependent on the holy see, than one who must be subject to the prefect and secretary of a congregation. If they can be brought to relish such a prelate, it is but one step more: you want not talents or spirit to take it, and all difficulties are at once removed. The business has been hitherto treated at Paris, with uncommon secrecy by the nuncio,

Mr. Thayer, who lives in Navarre college, wrote lately thus, to our friend Thorpe:

"With respect to the views of Rome upon America, all that I can tell you is that there is a treaty on foot to establish a vicar-apostolic for the thirteen states, which treaty, I suppose, is near conclusion. I know not what the Americans will think of this plan, whether they would fear a too great dependance on Rome. This I know, that any English priests whom I have the honor to know here, think that apostolic vicars are the ruin of Catholicity in England, and that bishops properly established, would be the fit instruments of building a solid edifice, both there and in America." Make your own comments, my dear friend, on this extract, substitute a less violent word to ruin, and we shall easily agree with the writer. He is noticed by the archbishop of Paris and other dignified clergymen of the greatest merit, and much commended by the superior of Navarre college, in whose house he lives gratis. He appears to be sincere, and zealous for the promotion of religion in America, and we hope he will not be misled, &c.

If your friends here were better informed of your concerns, they might occasionally yield you service. Upon the first rumor that a vicar-apostolic was to be appointed, I prevailed upon Mr. Hoskins to write to Dr. Franklin to expose to him the degree of respect and consideration due to the missionaries now in America, and to desire that no proposals might be admitted without the participation and consent of you in particular, of the other missioners, and the principal Catholic gentry in the country. At Mr. Thorpe's desire, the same has been written to him by Messrs. N. Sewell and Mattingly, with other information relative to the origin and actual state of the American missions. Mr. Thorpe is all alive in your service; and wishes that his endeavors

may be useful to the common cause, and approved by you. The Romans have got scent of your promotion, and according to their custom have strangely distorted the whole business, even your name. They bring in the French king to figure in it, and talk of congress and your provincial assemblies as if they were so many conseils souverains in France.[66]

This letter probably reached Father Carroll about the time of the *Memorial* of December, 1784. To this situation abroad was added the danger of dissension at home. The "famous triumvirate," as Father Molyneux called the anti-episcopal Committee, was apparently not in favor of Carroll. No doubt other factors of which we are nowadays unaware entered into his final decision to accept the Prefectship. "Since the prefecture," writes O'Gorman, "was expected to pave the way to some more satisfactory and permanent arrangement, and since, on the other hand, his refusal might result in the imposition of a foreigner as Prefect on the Catholics in America, Carroll yielded to the arguments of his fellow-priests and decided to take up the onerous office."[67]

Father Carroll's acceptance of the Prefectship is contained in his *Letter* to Cardinal Antonelli, dated February 27, 1785. The rough draft of this *Letter* is in the *Baltimore Archives* (Case 9A–F1); an imperfect copy is among the *Shea Transcripts* at Georgetown University. The original, given here for the first time, has been photostated at Rome (*Propaganda Archives, America Centrale*, vol. 2, fols. 306–311). It is left untranslated, since the main paragraphs have been used by Shea.

Eminentissime Domine

Litterae, quas ad me destinare dignata est Em^{a} Vestra, diebus 9^{a} et 16^{a} anni praeteriti, in manus meas non pervenerunt ante diem 26 Novembris. Varia autem documenta litteras comitabantur. 1° Decretum Sacrae Congregationis de Propagandâ fide quâ me Superiorem missionum in tredecim Confoederatae Americae provinciis ad suum beneplacitum declaravit. 2° Benignissima suae Sanctitatis concessio et extensio universalis Jubilaei ad omnes Fideles in tredecim Confoederatae Americae provinciis. 3° Altera ejusdem concessio quâ mihi facultas tribuitur administrandi Sacramentum Confirmationis ad normam Instructionis, quam una recepi. 4° demum, facultates a S^{mo} D.N. mihi concessae et Sociis in hâc Domini vineâ laborantibus communicabiles.

Quod litteris, quibus haec ad me transmisisti documenta, Eminentissime Cardinalis, tantam erga me benevolentiam, tantum rei Catholicae in remotis hisce orbis partibus adjuvandae studium significaveris, gratias habeo et ago maximas, cujus quidem grati animi sensus certiorem te prius fecissem, nisi longa imprimis a domo absentia, postea autem intempestiva navigantibus glacies scribendi occasionem denegasset. Deinde rogo te, ac humillime precor, ut Sanctitatis suae pedibus me sistere, ac devotissimum erga Sedem Apostolicam obsequium testificari velis; gratiasque referre, quod tam gravi munere me indignum non existimaverit.

Hi sunt animi sensus, quibus erga B^{mum} Patrem, tequea deo, Cardinalis

[66] USCM, Vol. iii, pp. 376–377.

[67] *History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States*, p. 267. New York, 1907.

Eminentissime, affectus fui, ubi propensam utriusque in me benevolentiam, et sollicitam pro Sanctâ nostrâ Religione in his regionibus providentiam intelligerem. Fuêre tamen aliasque, quae tum initio, tum deinceps cogitanti mihi, magnum timorem, magnam etiam moestitiam incutiebant. Videbam imprimis illud mihi munus committi, cui subeundo, ut sincere et ex intimo sensu profiteor, imparem me omnino esse sentio, nec illis animi aut corporis viribus praeditum, quibus instructum esse aportet, quicumque se ad illud fideliter administrandum acinxerit. Deinde ut Eminae Tae votis obsequerer accuratam de rebus nostris relationem desiderantis, aliqua mihi commemoranda esse non ignorabam, quae minus grata fortasse essent futura, imo quae suspicionem commovere possent minus propensae in Sedem Apostolicam observantiae. Haec tamen omnia veritati postponam, et sincerae rerum nostrarum expositioni. Scio enim, Em. Card.lis, nihil tuto aut efficacitur circa nos agi posse, nisi quae sit nostra conditio, planè intelligatur.

Imprimis igitur, ex tredecim provinciis, quae olim Regi Magnae Brittaniae parebant, duae tantum fuêre, Pensylvania et Marilandia, in quibus permissum erat Catholicis tuto degere: In his etiam lege cautum erat, ne officio civili, militari, aut alio quovis frui possent. Excusso autem jugo Brittanico, novisque conditis legibus, in omnibus provinciis, Catholici sine molestiâ vivere et sacra peragere possunt. In plerisque tamen locis ad Reipublicae munera capessenda non admittuntur, nisi qui omnem jurisdictionem exteram, sive civilem, sive ecclesiaticam abrenuntiaverint. Ita fit, ut in plerisque his provinciis, seu Statibus, ut nunc vocant, nostri homines maneant a Republicâ exclusi: In quatuor tantum, nempe in Pensilvaniâ, Delawariâ, Marilandiâ, et Virginiâ, eodem ac coeteri cives jure utuntur. Haec autem beneficia, sive tolerantiae, sive juris communis, quamdiu simus habituri, non ausim pronunciare. Timent e nostris multi, in Marilandiâ praecipue, Acatholicis in animo esse, ut omnino a gerendis muneribus excludamur: ego autem cui satis semper fuit mala non animo praevenire, sed, ubi advenerint, utrumque tolerare, spe foveor tantam nobis injuriam haud esse inferendam: imo vero confido tam firma Religionis fundamenta in his Americanis Statibus jaci posse, ut florentissima Ecclesiae portio, cum magno Sedis Apostolicae solatio, hic aliquando sit futura. Hoc autem loco illa mihi commemoranda sunt, de quibus dixi superius scitu necessaria, ut recte res nostrae Ecclesiasticae possint administrari.

Viguit autem in his regionibus praecipue secta Anglecana; rerum sacrarum apud illos ministri pendebant omnes a Pseudo-Episcopo Londinensi: ad illum transfretabant, quotquot ordinari secundum sectae suae rationem cupiebant. Peracto autem bello, obtineri non potuit a sectae illius ministris, quamvis essent omnium frequentissimi, ut ab Episcopo Anglo, imo ab extero quovis penderent. Concessum est illis potius, ut Episcopos sibi constituerent et eligerent, quod jam ab ipsis factum est, quamvis nullum adhuc suo ritu consecratum habeant: Religionis suae administrandae sibi formam praescripserunt; religionem suam dici et haberi *nationalem* cupiunt, eo quod jam nullum alibi superiorem admittant: denique ita machinantur ut ab illis timor ille incutatur, quo nostrorum nonnullus percuti dicebam.

Eminentissimus Cardinalis persuasum sibi habeat nobis gravissima omnia tolerabiliora fore, quam divinam illam Sedis Apostolicae auctoritatem abrenunciare: nec tantum Sacerdotes, qui hic sumus, sed etiam populum Catholicum in fide ita videri stabilem, ut nunquam a debitâ Summo Pontifici obedientiâ sit

dimovendus. Idem tamem ille populus aliquam a Bmo Patre gratiam sibi concedi, imo deberi existimat, necessariam sane sive ad juris communis quo nunc utitur conservationem, sive ad propulsandum periculum, quod timetur. Ex iis quae dixi, et ex rerum publicarum, quae hic sunt, constitutione, Eminae Tuae ignotum esse non potest, quam invidiosa illis sit omnis extera jurisdictio. Hocigitur a Catholic is desideratur, ut nulla detur ansa Religionis nostrae adversariis nos criminandi, quasi plus aequo a regimine externo pendeamus; et ut aliqua ratio ineatur quâ in posterum Superior Ecclesiasticus huic regioni destinari possit, ita ut Spiritualis Sae Sedis jurisdictio omnino servetur; et simul tollatur omnis occasio nobis objiciendi, quasi aliquid admittamus patriae Independentiae inimicum. Hoc ex praecipuis Catholicis multi, communi scripto, Sanctitati suae significare cogitabant, ac ii maxime, qui vel in generali Americae Concilio (Congressum vocant) sedem obtinuere, vel in Pensylvaniâ ac Marilandiâ conciliis legislativis cum auctoritate intersunt; a quibus tamen obtinui, ut in praesens ejusmodi scriptum differatur. Quid hâc in re statui possit, Beatissimus Pater plenius forsan intelliget, ubi animum advertet ad sextum articulum *unionis perpetuae* inter Status foederatae Americae; quo sancitur, *nemini licitum fore, qui munere quovis fungatur sub Unitis Statibus, donum aliquod, officium aut titulum cujusvis generis accipere a Rege aliquo, Principe aut domino extero.* Quae prohibitio, etsi ad illos tantum pertinere videatur, qui ad munera Reipublicae destinantur, ab adversariis tamen nostris etiam ad officia Ecclesiastica fortasse detorquebitur. Cupimus igitur, Emse Cardinalis, omni modo providere, ut fidei integritas, et debita erga Sedem Apostolicam observantia, et unio semper vigeat: at simul ut Catholicis Americanis pro Ecclesiastico regimine concedatur, quidquid salvâ Religione concedi potest. Ita minui sectariorum invidiam plenam suspicionis, ita res nostras stabiliri posse confidimus.

Significasti, Eme Card.lis, Sanctitatis suae mentem esse et consilium, ut Vicarium Apostolicum Episcopali charactere et titulo insignitum pro his provinciis decernat. Ut paterna haec pro nobis sollicitudo magnâ nos laetitia affecit, ita etiam aliquem initio incussit timorem. Sciebamus enim Acatholicis Americanis olim persuaderi nunquam potuisse, ut vel suae sectae Episcopum admitterent, cum id tentaretur, dum Angliae Regi hae provinciae subessent: unde etiam timor nascebatur, ne nobis quidem id permissum iri. At jam, ab aliquot mensibus, conventione factâ. Ministrorum Protestantium Ecclesiae Anglicanae, seu Episcopalis, ut nunc vocant, decreverunt se, quod ex legum auctoritate pleno suae Religionis exercitio gaudeant, eo ipso jus habere ad tales rerum Sacrarum Ministros sibi constituendos, quales sectae suae ratio et disciplina exigit, Episcopos scilicet, Presbyteros et Diaconos; cui illorum decreto non repugnaverunt, qui condendis legibus apud nos sunt designati. Cum igitur nobis eadem pro Religionis exercitio libertas concedatur, jus quoque idem, quantum ad leges nostras municipales spectat, competere necesse est.

Re autem se habente, judicabit Beatissimus Pater, tuque adeo, Eme Cardlis, animo perpendes, an tempus constituendo Episcopo opportunum nunc sit, qualis is esse debeat, et quomodo designandus: de quibus omnibus, non tamquam judicium meum interpositurus, sed pleniorem relationem facturus aliqua commemorabo. Imprimis de opportunitate temporis observari potest, nullam jam animorum fore commotionem, si Episcopus designetur, quod Acatholici Protestantes sibi aliquem constituere cogitent: deinde ut aliquam

suae sectae apud vulgus existimationem ex Episcopali dignitate conciliare sperant, ita etiam non solum similem nobis, sed etiam ingentia commoda obventura confidimus, cum hanc Ecclesiam eo modo administrari contigerit, quo Christus Dominus instituit. Ex altera tamen parte occurit, quod cum jam S^mus Pater aliter Sacramento Confirmationis conferendo providere dignatus sit, non prius Episcopum nobis constituere necessitas postulet, quam idonei aliqui reperiantur ad Sacros Ordines suscipiendos, quod paucis annis futurum speramus, ut intelliget Eminensus. Cardinalis ex iis, quae separatim relatione distinctâ scribere cogito. Quod tempus ubi advenerit, commodius fortasse pro decenti Episcopi sustentatione providere, quam nunc pro rerum nostrarum tenuitate poterimus.

Deinde, si Episcopum nobis assignare Sanctitati suae visum fuerit, praestabitne Vicarium Apostolicum, an Ordinarium cum propria Sede constituere? Quis rei Catholicae incremento, quis amovendae Catholicorum invidiae, terrorique illi de exterâ jurisdictione magis inseviret ? quem terrorem auctum iri certissime scio, si Superiorem Ecclesiasticum ita designari noverint, ut ad arbitrium Sacrae Congregationis de propagandâ fide, aut cujusvis alterius tribunalis externi ab officio possit dimoveri: nec fas illi sit Sacerdotem quemvis ad sacras functiones admittere, quem illa Congregatio non approbaverit, et ad nos destinaverit.

De modo autem Episcopum designandi nihil aliud nunc dicam, quam implorare nos, pro Sedis Apostolicae judicio dirigendo divinam sapientiam et misericordiam; ut, si minime concedendum videatur Sacredotibus in hâc Domini vineâ tot annos laborantibus illum suae Sanctitati proponere, quem ipsi magis idoneum existimaverint, conveniatur tamen de aliquâ Episcopum nominandi viâ, quâ Nostratium, tam Catholicorum, quam Sectariorum offensio possit averti.

De Duobus juvenibus ad Urbanum Collegium mittendis nihil agere licuit, donec plenius de Em^ae tuae mente intellexero. Si itineris impensis impares fuerint, video quidem a Sacrâ Congregatione de viatico provisum iri: non tamen habeo compertum, cui demandatum sit illas impensas subministrari. Navium enim magistri in navem vectores recipere non solent, nisi naulum ante navigationem solvatur, aut certo sciant, a quo repetendum sit. Deinde, ut quae dixi de Episcopo vel Superiore designando, aliquam forte mutationem suggerent circa modum res nostras Ecclesiasticas administrandi, ita quoque consilium de educandis in isto Collegio Juvenibus poterit mutari, quod tamen minime futurum confidimus. Postremo, convenerit, ut Juvenum parentes doceantur, an Juramentum aliquod et cujusmodi ab eorum filiis exigendum sit, antequam in patriam remittantur: omnis enim cautela adhibenda est, ut, quantum fieri potest, videantur Catholici, tam populus quam ministri, in rebus tantum omnino necessariis ab exterâ potestate pendere.

Interim, dum responsum expecto, dabo operam, ut Juvenes duo summâ curâ seligantur, quales tuae litterae, Emin: Card^lis, exigunt: spero insuper me effecturum, ut itineris impensae, saltem hinc usque in Galliam a parentibus solvantur: sin minus id obtinuero, omnem in illis impensis moderationem adhiberi curabo. Intelligo autem pro unoquoque juvene navigationis et alios necessarios sumptus, donec portum attigerit, summam septuaginta vel octoginta aureoum circiter confecturos.

Reliqua, de quibus instrui voluisti, Em^e Card^lis, pro religiosâ tuâ erga nos sollicitudine, opportunius separato scripto extra formam litterarum

exhiberi posse existimavi; illud tamen hic iterum atque iterum obsecro, ut eam in facultatibus mihi concessis restrictionem tolli omni modo cures, quâ aliorum Sacerdotum operâ uti prohibeor, praeter illos quos sacra Congregatio destinaverit et approbaverit. Id enim nisi concedatur, brevi spatio magna Catholicorum pars amnino Sacramentorum expers erit, et Religionis ministeriis destituta. Unica enim, quae nobis superest spes supplementi cujusdam cito recipiendi pro Sociis extinctis, aut jam ad extremum senium vergentibus, posita est in illis Sacerdotibus, qui hic nati, anti bellum exortum in Europam educationis causâ profecti sunt, ibique sacros Ordines susceperunt. Audio horum aliquos in patriam reditum cogitare: qui quibus tamen, si advenerint, in otio erit manendum, utcumque moribus et doctrinâ comparatis ad hanc Domini vineam excolendam. Itaque, omni quidem reverentiâ, sed simul summâ fiduciâ, et ex plenâ persuasione id ê re Religionis fore, rogo, Emin: Cardinalis, ut tuum apud Sanctitatem suam studium interponas, illique significes, Superiori in his Foederatae Americae Statibus omnino necesse est, ut quos Sacerdotes dignos judicaverit, hos in laborum Societatem possit ascire.

Haec habui, Eme Card.lis, quae liberè fideliterq scriberem de rebus ad Religionem spectantibus, quibus veluti supplementum et ad tua quaesita responsum accedent, quae altero scripto commemorata reperies. Mihi jam sit permissum hanc gregis Dominici portionem, pastoresq, qui in illo sunt, meo ipsum singulari tuae pietati, paternaeq benevolentiae commendare; precariq, ut oculos conjicias in immensas illas regiones, quae foederatae Americae finibus continentur: in diesque magis ac magis immigrantium accessionibus, et ex naturali foecunditate, incolentium numero augentur. Ubique liberè praedicari poterit vera fides, nec quidquam obstare videtur, quo minus magni ex hâc libertate fructus decerpantur, praeter operariorum defectum, mediaque illis providendi. Ad te igitur, qui singulari curâ, studio et auctoritate Religionis propagationi invigilas, recurrimus, ut quae ad hunc finem meditamur, pro tuâ sapientiâ adjuvare velis, hancque regionem veluti tuae providentiae et fidei commissam intueri. Quod ad me spectat, ego summâ fiduciâ, Eminentissime Cardinalis, in hujus Ecclesiae negotiis tua consilia, tuam auctoritatem, pietatem tuam implorabo, precaborque Deum omnipotentem, ut pro animarum salute, divinaeque fidei extensione te salvum et incolumen diù esse velit. Ita vovet

Eminentissime Cardinalis
Eminae Tuae
Servus Obsequentissimus

Ex Marilandiâ, die 27a Februarii, 1785.

JOANNES CARROLL.

Eminentissimo Cardli Antonello.

In several of the official letters from Propaganda a request was made for certain definite information regarding the state of the Church in the new Republic. This information was asked, as we have seen, through the Nuncio at Paris, on May 12, 1784, in a letter addressed by Cardinal Antonelli to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, French Minister Plenipotentiary, at New York. Cardinal Antonelli's letter to Father Carroll, June 9, 1784, contained the same request. This information Father Carroll obtained by correspondence with his fellow-priests between November, 1784, and March 1, 1785. He embodied this information in his *Relation of the State of Religion in the United*

States. The original is here printed for the first time, from a photostat copy taken in the *Propaganda Archives, America Centrale*, vol. 2, fols. 312–314. An imperfect copy is among the *Shea Transcripts.* The rough draft is in Case 9A–F1, of the *Baltimore Archives.* As the first *Relation* of its kind to be sent to Rome from the United States, it is among the most treasured first-hand sources for the history of the Church in our country:

Relatio pro Emo Cardinali Antonello de statu Religionis in Unitis Foederatae Americae provinciis.

1° De numero Catholicorum in Foederatae Americae Provinciis.

Sunt in *Marilandiâ circiter* 15,800. Ex his sunt novem mille homines liberi aetatis adultae, aut supra annum duodecimum; pueri minoris aetatis fere ter mille, totidemq omnis aetatis servi (Nigros vocant a colore) ex Africâ oriundi. In *Pensilvaniâ* sunt ad minimum *septem mille*, inter quos paucissimi Africani, vivuntq Catholici collecti magis ac sibi invicem contigui. In *Virginia sunt non amplius ducenti*, quibus quater aut quinquies per annum adest Sacerdos: Dicuntur plurimi alii, tam in illâ, quam in coeteris provinciis sparsim vivere, amni Religionis ministerio destituti. In provinciâ *Novum Eboracum* dictâ, audio *esse mille quingentos ad minimum*, qui nuper communibus sumptibus ex Hiberniâ accersiverunt virum Religiosum Ordinis Si. Francisci; diciturq optimis de moribus et doctrinâ documentis instructus esse: advenerat paulo prius, quam litteras accepissem, quibus facultates Sociis communicabiles ad me sunt delatae. Dubitavi aliquando, an jure possem hunc pro Sacramentorum administratione approbare. Et jam statui, appropinquante maxime festo Paschali, ipsum pro Socio habere, facultatesq necessarias impertiri, quod meum consilium approbatum iri confido. Nihil certi dicere licet de numero Catholicorum, qui sunt in locis conterminis fluvio dicto Mississippi, omnique illi regioni, quae secundum illum fluvium ad Oceanum Atlanticum pertingit, et ab eodem usque ad limites Carolinae, Virginiae, et Pensilvaniae extenditur. Hic tractus continet, ut audio, multos Catholicos, olim Canadenses, qui linguâ Gallicâ utuntur, quos rerum sacrarum Ministris destitutos esse valde metuo. Transivit ad illos nuper Sacerdos quidam Germanus, sed ex Galliâ ultimo profectus, qui ex ordine Carmelitarum se esse profitetur: nullo tamen sufficiente testimonio muniebatur, missum se esse a legitimo Superiore. Quid agat, et quo statu ibi sint res Catholicae, edoctum me iri propediem expecto. Episcopi Quebecensis jurisdictio in aliquam regionis illius partem olim pertinuit: an nunc autem, cum omnes in foederatae Americae ditionem cesserint, potestatem ullam exercere velit, haud equidem scio.

2° Catholicorum conditione, pietate, abusibus, &c.

In Marilandiâ, paucae ex praecipuis et ditioribus familiis, a primis provinciae fundamentis, fidem Catholicam a progenitoribus huc invectam adhuc profitentur: major autem pars sunt agricolae, et in Pensilvaniâ fere omnes, exceptis mercatoribus et opificibus, qui Philadelphiae degunt. Quod ad pietatem spectat, sunt, ut plurimum, in Religionis exercitiis et Sacramentorum frequentatione satis assidui: sed sine illo fervore, quem solet excitare continua ad sensua pietatis exhortatio: vix enim singulis mensibus, aut etiam bimestri spatio plurimae Congregationes rem divinam, et concionem sibi fieri audiunt: ita Sacerdotum inopiâ, multoq magis, locorum intervallo, itinerisq incommodis opprimimur: Haec de indigenis dicta sint: alia enim longe est ratio Catholicorum, qui magno numero ex variis Europae nationibus ad nos confluent.

Cum enim ex nostratibus pauci sint, qui non saepius per annum, praecipue autem tempore paschali ad Sacramenta Poenitentiae et Eucharistiae accedant; vix reperitur inter priores illos, qui officium hoc Religionis exerceat; quorum exemplum in urbibus mercatoriis maxime perniciosum fore timetur. Abusus inter Catholicos sunt illi maxime, qui ex necessariâ cum Acatholicis familiaritate, et exemplis inde collectis oriuntur; liberior nempe se tractandi ratio inter juniores personas diversi sexus, quan animi, aut forte etiam corporis integritas patiatur; nimis propensum studium ad saltationes, et id genus alia; et incredibilis aviditas (in puellis praecipue) legendi fabulas amatorias, quae magno numero ad nos advenuntur. Deinde, in coeteris universim defectus diligentiae in educandis ad Religionem liberis, sed praecipue servis Africanis, totiusq illius curae ad Sacredotes transmissio; ex quo fit, ut cum sint continuo laboribus exerciti; raroq et non nisi ad breve tempus cum Sacerdote esse possint, in fide rudes et in moribus turpissimi plerique esse soleant. Incredibile est quantum animarum postoribus molestiae et sollicitudinis facessant.

3° De numero Presbyterorum, studiis, et modo se sustendandi.

Sunt in *Marilandiâ Presbyteri novemdecim:* In *Pensilvaniâ quinque.* Ex his autem duo sunt supra, tres alii proximum ad septuagesimum annum accedunt; adeoq omnino impares subeundis laboribus, sine quibus hac Domini vinea coli non potest. Inter reliquos Presbyteros, aliqui admondum infirmâ valetudine utuntur; et unus est nuper a me approbatus, ad paucos menses tantum, ut experimentum illius faciam in extrema operariorum necessitate. Aliqua enim de ipso narrabantur, quae vehementer me deterrebant ab illius operâ adhibendâ. Ego quidem illi, quantum passum, invigilabo; et si quid acciderit gravitate sacerdotali minus dignum, facultates concessas revocabo, quantumcunque incommodum multis Catholicis inde eventurum sit. Mihi enim persuasum est Catholicam fidem mius detrimenti passuram, si nulli Sacerdotes per breve tempus fuerint, quam si, ubi ita vivimus inter alterius Religionis homines, ad sacra ministeria assumuntur. non dicam mali, Sacerdotes, sed etiam imprudentes et incauti. Reliqui omnes Sacerdotes plenam laboris vitam agunt, quod unusquisque congregationibus longe dissitis obsequium praestet, adeoq continuis, gravissimisque equitationibus, ad aegrotos praecipue, continuo fatigetur. Presbyteri sustentantur ut plurimum ex fundorum providentibus; alibi vero liberalitate Catholicorum. Nulla hic proprie sunt bona Ecclesiastica. Privatorum enim nomine possidentur ea bona, ex quibus aluntur Presbyteri; et testamentis transferuntur ad haeredes: ita faciendum suggessit dira necessitas, dum legibus Catholica Religio his arctaretur; neque adhuc inventum est huic incommodo remedium, quamvis a nobis anno elapso id tentaretur.

Ad procurandos in Religionis ministerio successores, quid faciendum sit, non satis intelligimus. Est jam Philadelphiae collegium, agiturque de duobus in Marilandiâ extruendis, ad quo admitti poterunt Catholici aeque ac alii, tam Praesides, quam Professores et alumni. Fore speramus, ut hos inter aliqui vitam Ecclesiasticam velint amplecti. Cogitamus igitur de seminario instituendo, in quo valeant deinceps ad mores et doctrinam statui illi convenientes efformari.

Hâc factâ relatione, liceat nunc aliqua adjungere quo omnino neccessaria judico ad spiritualem Catholicorum administrationem. Imprimis ex quotidiano commercio cum Acatholicis, oritur perpetuum discrimen ineundi cum illis

contractus matrimonialis, ad quod periculum avertendum usus apud nos invaluerat dispensandi, quantum nobis permittebatur, inter consanguineos Catholicos. Ita non solum conservari Religionem, sed augeri ab experientiâ didicimus. Ut igitur Ssmus Pater facultates mihi benigne concessit, Sociis etiam communicabiles, *dispensandi in* 3° *mixto cum* 2°, et inferioribus consanguinitatis et affinitatis gradibus; ita humillime tam meo, quam Sociorum nomine precor, ut saltem ad Superiorem extendere velit facultates dispensandi *in* 2° *simplici*, tam consanguinitatis quam affinitatis. Si auten illud generaliter concedi nequit, quod propter locorum distantium maxime optandum esset, *pro triginta ad minimum viabus* precor, ut ita dispensandi mihi detur facultas. Vehementer etiam a Sociis meis desideratur, ut possit hic *dispensari in primo gradu affinitatis* ortae ex copulâ illicitâ. Hos enim impedimentum esape subsistit inter Africanos praecipue, ante matrimonium attentatum; nec tamen nisi longum post tempus, multorumq annorum cohabitationem Sacerdos impedimentum, fortuito plerumq deprehendit.

Video praeterea dispensationem celebrandi missam post meridiem, *ad unam tantum horam* extendi; cum tamen aliquando confessiones expediri non possint *ante tres horas*, quod mihi certe saepe contigit a primâ aurorâ illud ministerium auspicanti; credebamq in ejusmodi casibus legem charitatis validiorem esse, quam ut Sacramentorum expertes domum remitterentur, qui magno labore et incommodo, viginti, triginta aut amplius mille passus venerant, et saepe in his mulieres gravidae et partui proximae.

Hac item in re Sanctitatis suae mentem ulterius declarari cupimus.

Si quae alia occurrant, de quibus intellexero gratum fore, ut ad Emum Cardinalem relatio fiat, plene conscribam.

JOANNES CARROLL.

Die 1ª Martii 1785.

The two problems which clouded his immediate horizon were the "cramping clauses" which practically robbed him of all power, as can be seen in his letter to Father Thorpe, of February 17, 1785, given above, and the question of a bishopric for the United States. The task before him and before the little band of workers he had in the American Vineyard was immense, he told his friend Father Plowden, in a letter dated June 29, 1785. "I receive applications from every part of the United States, north, south, and west, for clergymen, and considerable property is offered for their maintenance; but it is impossible and cruel to abandon the congregation already formed to go in quest of people who wish to be established into new ones." His inability to give faculties to new arrivals in the ministry was the most unfortunate part of his embarrassing situation. The presence of other priests in the country who carried on their ministrations without recognizing him as Superior, also added to the delicate position he held. Fortunately, on receiving Carroll's letter of February 17, 1785, Father Thorpe immediately acted by having the doubt settled at Rome; and on July 2, 1785, and again on August 31, 1785, he informed the Prefect-Apostolic that a blunder had occurred and that the "cramping clauses" against which "you had with great reason remonstrated should be struck out of the printed faculties and . . . were never meant to be where you found them, left by an oversight in the Secretary's office." As Carroll learned later, the formula of his appointment was based on that of a Prefect-Apostolic sent

from Rome with missionaries to Africa, and they quite naturally contained the clause that he was not to give faculties to any priest in his jurisdiction unless the same were sent of Propaganda. On July 23, 1785, Cardinal Antonelli wrote to Father Carroll, thanking him for the *Letter* and *Relation* of February–March, 1785, and approving his stand; and sending him a new formula of faculties, which allowed Carroll to receive priests into the country and to appoint them at will.[68] The second of these problems, namely, the appointment of a Superior with episcopal powers as well as jurisdiction, was not settled until November 14, 1789, when Father John Carroll was appointed Bishop of Baltimore.

There was more than the prefunctory phrases of the man raised to a unique and important post in his *Letter* to Antonelli. The task before him was a delicate one; the field of his labors was, to use his own word, immense in extent and in possibilities. His jurisdiction, meagre as it was in its amplitude, was the only bond uniting the new Republic to the Holy See. He felt himself utterly incapable of bringing all the elements of Catholic life in the United States into strict conformity with canonical rule. The number of his priests was limited; many of them were old men, worn out with the fatigues and burdens of the harsh life the missionaries were forced to lead. The distances were many times greater in those days than now. Means of communication were slow and uncertain; and the very liberty which the new Republic had proclaimed to all the earth and the inhabitants thereof opened the way to adventurers ecclesiastic as it did to adventurers lay or civil. It was indeed a task arduous enough to terrify even one who did not possess John Carroll's courage and spirit of devotion. The five years of his Prefectship saw all these elements for good and for evil in the Catholic life of the Republic develop with a rapidity which soon dispelled any lingering doubts in the minds of his clergy on the necessity of a more compact canonical organization. Within twenty months the clergy had met again at Whitemarsh and petitioned the Holy See for a bishop. The administration of Church property was causing quarrels and scandals which were threatening the unity of the Church in the United States; the Revolution had not amalgamated the races that had fought side by side for liberty, and the spirit of nationalism in Church affairs was even then looming up as a potent source of antagonism. Religious toleration was not a law of the land in 1785, and did not become universally so until long after the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Dissension in the Church was apparent at the very time when the closest harmony was needed to start religious freedom on its noble way down the years of American life. The ranks of the clergy were thinning rapidly—death and disease were decimating the little band of workers, and if the Church was to live, vocations would need to be fostered, priests would have to be invited to come to the United States from other lands, and only one endowed with all the power of the episcopate could keep that strict control on ecclesiastical life without which there could be no surety of duration. These five years of Carroll's

[68] Hughes, *op. cit.*, Documents, Vol. ii, p. 635.

Prefectship were as critical in their own way to the Church as was the uncertainty which ruled the political life of the nation between the Treaty of Paris in 1783, and Washington's election to the Presidency in 1789. It is a singular, not to say providential, coincidence that Washington and Carroll came to their offices at the same time. Washington was inaugurated April 30, 1789; Carroll was consecrated August 15, 1790, and our political organization was fully fashioned in the very year that our Church organization was perfected. It was a coincidence emblematic of the amity and concord "which have hitherto existed between the Church and the republic—amity and concord which, instead of being obliterated, are emphasized by the clear-cut distinction made in our fundamental law between the two spheres, the political and the religious."

PETER GUILDAY.

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